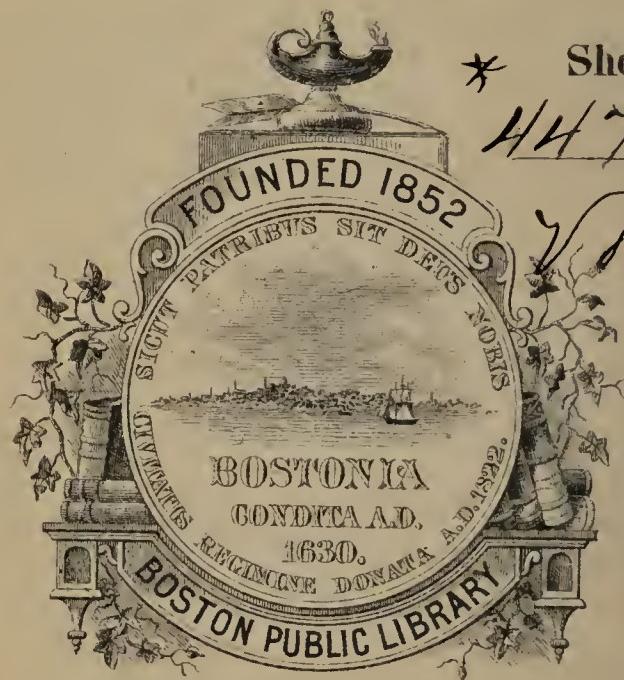




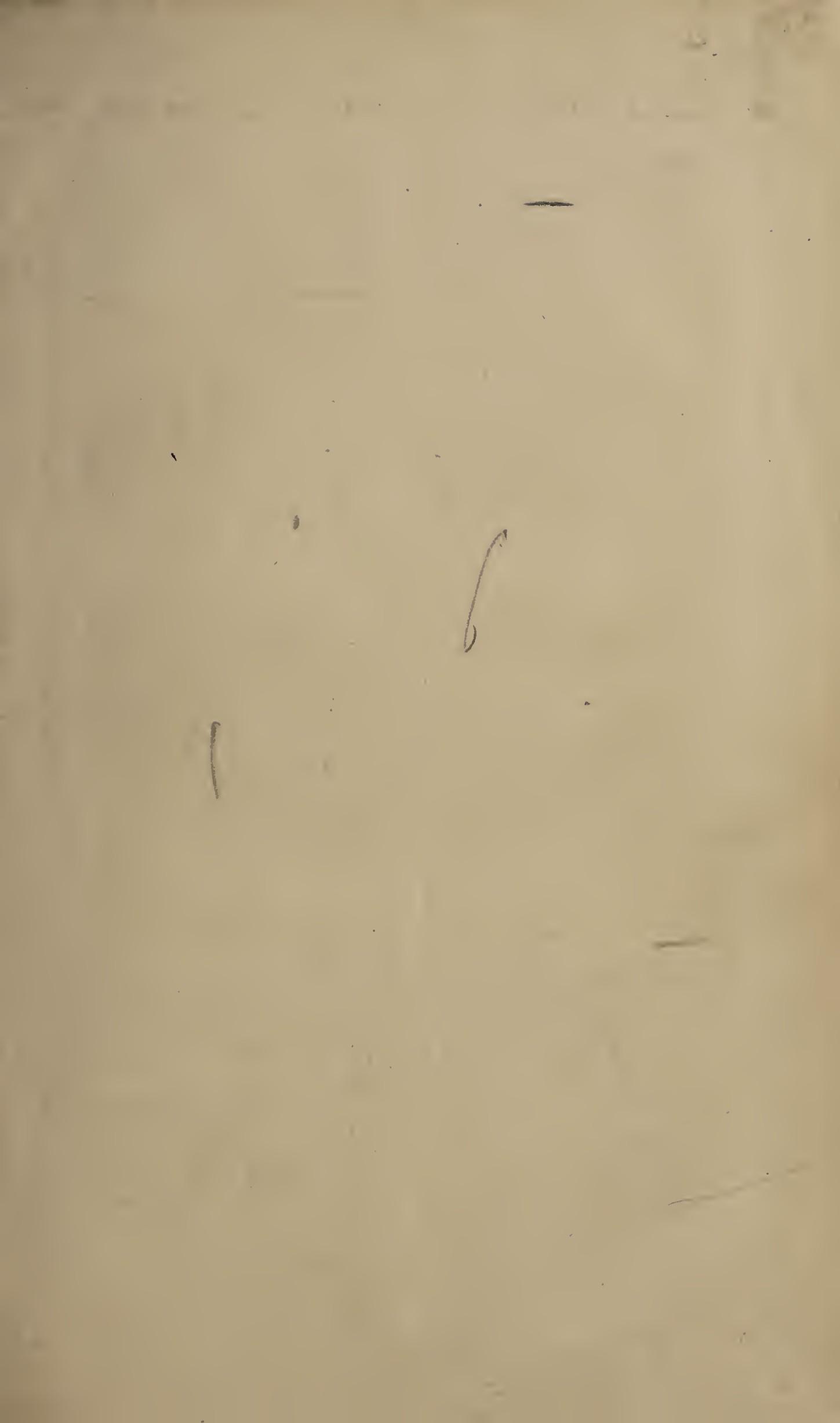
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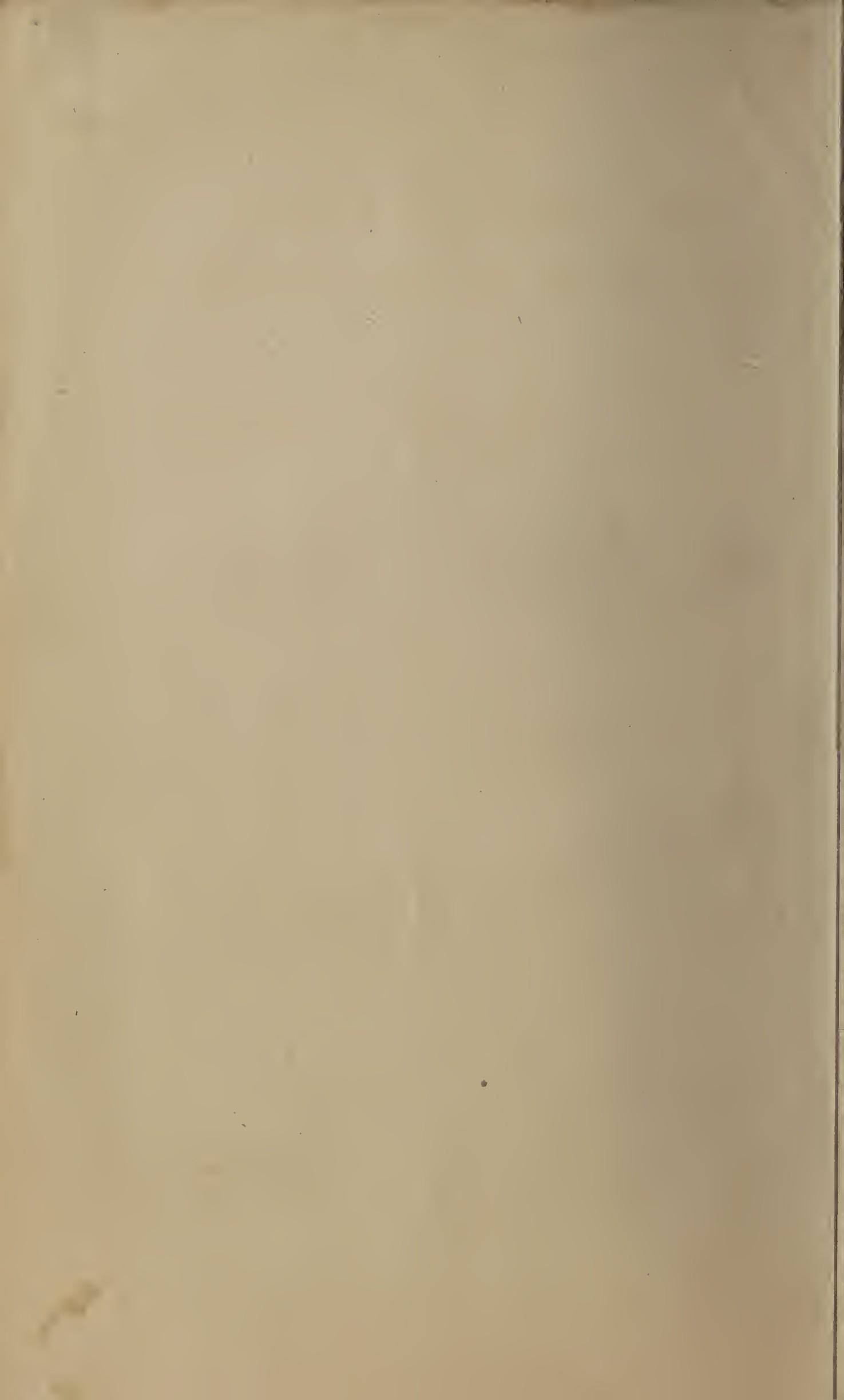


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John R. Thompson.

447570

To Edward Everett  
THE  
With the kindest regards of  
VIRGINIA HISTORICAL REPORTER.

W. R. Thompson.

CONDUCTED BY THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OF THE

447570

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

Vol. I

VOLUME I.

RICHMOND:  
PRINTED FOR THE COMMITTEE,  
BY MACFARLANE & FERGUSSON.  
1854.

THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL REPORTER.

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OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

*The following is a list of the Officers of the Society, &c. at the present time.*

HON. WM. C. RIVES, *President,*  
HON. JAMES M. MASON,  
WM. H. MACFARLAND, Esq., } *Vice Presidents,*  
HON. JOHN Y. MASON,  
WM. MAXWELL, *Cor. Secretary and Librarian.*  
ANDREW JOHNSTON, *Rec. Secretary.*  
GEORGE N. JOHNSON, *Treasurer.*

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

CONWAY ROBINSON, *Chairman,*      CHARLES CARTER LEE,  
GUSTAVUS A. MYERS,                          ARTHUR A. MORSON.  
THOMAS T. GILES,                                THOMAS H. ELLIS,  
    GEORGE W. RANDOLPH.

The Officers of the Society are, *ex-officio*, members of the Executive Committee.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

*Elected during the past year.*

HON. R. M. T. HUNTER, of U. S. Senate.  
REV. WM. McGUFFEY, D.D. of the University of Virginia.  
REV. BASIL MANLY, President of the University of Alabama.  
HON. WILLIAM A. GRAHAM, of North Carolina.  
HON. GEORGE W. SUMMERS, of Kanawha,  
HON. LUCAS P. THOMPSON, of Staunton,  
THOMAS R. JOYNES, Esq., of Accomac.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

*Elected during the past year.*

JOHN H. WHEELER, Esq., of Washington City.  
BRANTZ MAYER, Esq., of Baltimore.  
JOHN M. GORDON, Esq., of Baltimore.

LIFE MEMBERS.

*Elected during the past year.*

HILL CARTER, Esq., of Shirley; WILLIAM ALLEN, Esq., of Claremont.

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1854.

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# THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL REPORTER.

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## THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

### THE SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The Seventh Annual Meeting of the Virginia Historical Society was held in the Hall of the Athenæum, on Thursday evening, December 15, 1853, and was favored with the company of a large and brilliant audience—many members of the General Assembly, gentlemen and ladies, citizens and strangers—assembled on the interesting occasion.

The President of the Society, (the Hon. Wm. C. Rives, of Albemarle,) presided; and, on taking the chair, made a brief and very becoming address. After this, the Chairman of the Executive Committee, Conway Robinson, Esq., read the report of the Executive Committee, showing the progress of the Society during the past year, in a very satisfactory manner.

The Secretary and Librarian, Mr. Maxwell, then read a List of the Books, and other donations which had been received since the last Annual Meeting.

After these proceedings, Hugh B. Grigsby, Esq., of Norfolk, read a highly interesting discourse on the subject of the Convention of 1829-30; which was received with due and gratified attention by all present.

The following resolutions were then unanimously adopted.

On motion of Wm. H. Macfarland, Esq., of Richmond:

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Hugh B. Grigsby, Esq., for his able and interesting discourse;

our diligence and curiosity be quickened to explore the first feeble springs in which so noble a current had its rise, to trace out and follow all the tributary rivulets which have fed and augmented it, that knowing thus the various agencies by which it has been formed and brought to its actual condition, we may the better provide for its future and progressive enlargement. This, gentlemen, is the field of patriotic labor, as full of interest as of usefulness, which you have chosen for yourselves. I am proud to be thought worthy to be a fellow laborer with you in such a field. The period of my return to the country from other duties is too recent, and that short interval has been too much crowded with urgent engagements of a different character, to permit me to offer you, on the present occasion, any substantive proof of a useful participation in your labors. But I pray you to be assured, gentlemen, that, trusting to zeal to make amends for the want of ability, my hand as well as my heart shall be with you, as opportunity may allow, in your pious efforts to keep bright and clear the historic glories of our ancient commonwealth, and thus to supply the purest and best incentive of emulation to that auspicious revival of Virginia enterprise and self-reliance that are now again so happily dawning upon us.

#### THE COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

*Report made to the Virginia Historical Society, by its Executive Committee at the Annual Meeting in December, 1853.*

We have the pleasure of informing the Society, that its life-members, paying fifty dollars each now number forty-two; that its investment in certificates of debt of the State of Virginia, amounts to twenty-six hundred dollars; and that from the subscriptions already made, it is anticipated the investment will in a few weeks be enlarged to three

thousand dollars. This constitutes our permanent fund; a fund which all must acknowledge it is very important to increase; for the larger the amount of the permanent fund, the more confidence there will be in the stability of the Society; and the larger the yearly income from that fund, the greater will be the Society's capacity for usefulness. A conviction of this, blended with a liberal spirit, has caused one gentleman to propose to subscribe a hundred dollars a year for five years, if four would join him; and has led two to respond to the proposition. We feel much confidence that during the ensuing year, two others will come forward, and thus enable our institution to reap the benefit of a liberal proposal, full of so much advantage to it.

However limited the Society's income has hitherto been, it is satisfactory to know that with such aid as could be extended from it to Mr. Maxwell, he has been enabled, for six years, to publish the Virginia Historical Register, and thereby diffuse in an agreeable way a large amount of information bearing upon the history of the State. It is a subject of sincere regret now when there is so general, we may say, so universal a concurrence of opinion as to his peculiar fitness for the task of editing this journal, that he should have determined to bring it to a conclusion. Whatever may be our regret at this determination, we are not disposed to question the sufficiency of the considerations which, in his judgment, rendered it advisable. It is pleasing to know that though his periodical has ceased, his work remains in such a form that it will be a welcome addition to the libraries of our country, private as well as public, and be a memorial in after times of the valuable service that he has rendered to his State.

An important object of the register has been, the publication of the proceedings of the society, and papers of interest communicated to it, or to its committee or secretary,

including letters and other manuscripts, material to be published promptly. This object we deem of too much importance to be relinquished; and keeping it in view, we still contemplate a publication annually or semi-annually, under Mr. *Maxwell's* editorial agency.

Such a publication of scattered letters and papers bearing on our history which we may receive or collect, is important alike for their preservation and to facilitate the larger work which we have in view; one in chronological order, completing the account of the voyages to the Atlantic coast of North America prior to 1606, and then proceeding with the Annals of Virginia.

As years roll on, it will be a subject of increased regret that so little has been done by the men of Virginia in former days to collect and preserve the materials for her history. It becomes us, however, and the men of our day not simply to deplore the losses arising from past neglect, but to do all that is practicable to prevent those losses from being increased by neglect in our time.

A visit to England during the past summer and fall, by the chairman of the committee, has enabled him to obtain more exact information than we before had here in regard to the valuable materials which exist there. As many days as he could well spare from other objects of interest, were spent by him at London, in examining the volumes containing the catalogues of manuscripts in the extensive library of the British Museum, and in inspecting manuscripts at the state paper office, and noting their nature. Copies were obtained by him of three manuscript letters written to Sir Francis Walsingham by Ralph Lane; two of them dated the 12th of August, 1585, from Port Ferdinando, in Virginia; and the other written the 8th of September, in the same year, from the New Port in Virginia. These let-

ters fall within the period to be embraced in the second volume of "Early Voyages to America."

But the manuscripts in the state paper office of most interest to a citizen of this State, are those which relate to the proceedings in what is now *Virginia*.

The first General Assembly held in this Colony, was convened at James City, the 30th of July, 1619. *Hening* alludes to it, but is unable to tell what it did ; and *Stith* says, he could no where find among the records extant any account of the particulars that passed.\* Of the proceedings of this General Assembly, the chairman saw at London, in the state paper office a full report, embracing 30 pages. It contains the names of the burgesses, their manner of proceeding ; their resolutions and acts or ordinances.

Not only are there in the state paper office manuscripts relating to the early legislation of Virginia, which it would be discreditable to this State not to take steps to procure. But other manuscripts are to be found there of great interest as illustrative of the condition of the colony. They consist chiefly of letters and official documents. Among them may be mentioned papers in the nature of a census ; for example, one dated February 16th, 1623, containing in 18 pages a list of the names of the persons then living in Virginia ; and in 4 pages a list of the dead ; another called a muster of the inhabitants in Virginia, taken in January 1624. This is a manuscript of 103 pages, and seems to be a very complete census, beginning with the inhabitants of the college land, and ending with those of the eastern shore.

It is most remarkable that Virginia, whose history is more full of interest than that of any of her sister States should be so far behind many of them in what is essentially necessary to have the materials for her history, collected, pre-

\* 1 *Hening's Statutes*, p. 119, 121.

served and perpetuated; materials many of which exist now in a perishable form, and which if steps be not soon taken to prevent it, may be forever lost.

Such arrangements have been made by the chairman, with officers at the state paper office, that now copies of interesting manuscripts in that office, can be obtained through his correspondence; at a cost which though it might be heavy upon the present limited income of this Society, would be to Virginia, for the object to be effected, exceedingly small.

An appropriation by the General Assembly of this State of a thousand dollars a year, for as many years as to the General Assembly may seem advisable, would enable us to go on each year, obtaining materials that are wanting from abroad; publishing in the chronological work contemplated by us, all that may appear of sufficient interest or value to deserve publication in that way; and arranging the rest in manuscript volumes for convenient reference.

We submit to the Society the expediency of an application from it at this meeting to the General Assembly for such an appropriation.

Although the publication of our regular chronological series may be suspended, it is agreeable to know that through voluntary donations, and by means of the \$150 a year, appropriated by the Council of the City of Richmond, there are yearly additions to the Society's library. The chairman during his recent visit to England, made some purchases of which as well as of the donations, you will have more particular information from the Secretary.

The chairman also did something in England in aid of our effort to have the walls of the Society's library room decorated with portraits of Governors of Virginia and of others distinguished in her history.

It may be remembered that Thomas Percy, a kinsman of

the Earl of Northumberland, was concerned in the gunpowder plot. The day before it was to be executed, he was at Sion House, the Earl's seat. The earl was suspected of being concerned in the plot, and was committed to the tower; there he was confined many years with Sir Walter Raleigh and Thomas Hariot among his constant companions. The disfavour in which the Earl was—his imprisonment and the views of such men as Raleigh and Hariot, we may infer were not without their influence upon George Percy, his youngest brother. George came to Virginia, and in 1611 between Lord De La Ware's departure from Virginia and the coming of Sir Thomas Dale, this colony was left to his charge. Captain George Percy, we are told, was "a gentleman of honor and resolution." He was not only among the adventurers for Virginia, but distinguished himself in the wars of the low countries.

In connection with the portrait about to be mentioned, it may be proper to note that in those wars he had a finger shot off. Having been born the 4th of September, 1580, Captain Percy had not completed his 31st year, when in charge of the government of Virginia; nor his 52d when in March 1632, he died a bachelor.

Our chairman, having through the kindness of a barrister who is the professional adviser of the Duke of Northumberland, received a card of admission to the Duke's house and grounds at Sion, saw among the portraits there, one dated in 1615 of Captain George Percy; stating him to be brother of Henry, Earl of Northumberland, and showing the loss of the finger. Through the professional gentleman above referred to, the chairman applied to the Duke for permission to have a copy of this portrait made, that it might be presented to our Historical Society; and the permission was promptly granted.

About six weeks afterwards, the chairman was at Leeds

Castle, and among the portraits there saw one which the proprietor, (Mr. Charles Wykeham Martin,) stated to be of Lord Culpeper, who was a governor of Virginia, and of which he kindly offered to present a copy to our Society.

Within a week past letters have been received from England, stating that the copy of the former portrait is now ready to be sent; and that Lord Culpeper has "gone to London to be copied and will soon be finished."

Directions will be given by the chairman that these two copies of portraits be shipped from England direct to Richmond.

Within a few days past, an offer has also been made to place with us on deposit, until it shall be called for by its owner, a portrait of Governor *Giles*, believed to have been painted by Harding, during the convention of 1829-30.

But the finest work of art that we have received within the past year, is a portrait of Franklin, painted by one of the most eminent painters of Paris, in the pastel style, for our President, who while in the service of his country, at the Court of France, availed himself of the opportunity to obtain some suitable present for the ornament of our room. It is a copy from the famous portrait of the philosopher taken from life by Greuze, the distinguished artist of the reigns of Louis XV. and XVI. Our secretary in laying before you what he has to communicate, will read the letter of Mr. Rives describing this portrait. The donation of it cannot fail to afford to the members of the Society lively satisfaction, not only for the excellence of the painting; but much more for the additional evidence which it furnishes, of the donor's interest in the cause in which we are engaged.

## DONATIONS.

*List of Books and Paintings Presented to the Society during the past year.*

Owens' Report of a Geological Survey of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota; transmitted by the care of the Hon. A. H. H. Stuart; 1 vol. large 4to., with Illustrations.

Schoolcraft's History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the U. S., Illustrated by S. Eastman of the U. S. Army; transmitted by the care of Geo. W. Manypenny, Commissioner for Indian Affairs. 1 vol. large 4to.

Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, vol. 5th, 4to.; by the Institution.

Memoir of Robert Troup Paine, 1 vol. 4to; also three other vols. two 8vo., and one 12mo.; by Martyn Paine, M. D., of New York.

Journal of Science and the Arts, 5 vols. 8vo., Lynch's Dead Sea and the Jordan, 1 vol. 8vo.; and Edwards's Works, 10 vols. 8vo.; by William H. Macfarland, Esq., of this city.

Memoir of a Huguenot Family, 1 vol. 12mo.; by Edmund Fontaine, Esq., of this City.

Documentary History of New York, 4 vols. 8vo.; and Broadhead's History of the State of New York, 1st. vol. 8vo.; by Theodore Sedgewick, Esq.

Anderson's History of the Colonial Church, 2d vol. 8vo.; by Rev. James T. Anderson, M. A., Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, &c., &c.; by Charles Wykeham Martin, of Leed's Parish.

Smith's Prelections, 1 vol. 12mo; by the Author, John A. Smith, M. D., of New York, an Associate of the Society.

Memoir, Correspondence, and Miscellanies, from the Papers of Thomas Jefferson, 4 vols., 8vo.; by T. J. Randolph, Esq., of Albemarle.

Peter Martyn's Work "*De Insulis Nuper Inventis;*" and the Second and Third Narrations of Fernandez Cortes, 1 vol., 4to., (printed in 1532;) another volume of the same author, (printed in 1533;) Malte-Brun's Geography, 8 vols. 8vo.; Collins's Peerage, 9 vols. 8vo.; Platt's Universal Biography, 5 vols. 8vo.; Bisset's History of England, 5 vols. 8vo.; Autobiography of Hamilton Rowan, 1 vol. 8vo.; Irving's Conquest of Florida,

2 vols. 12mo.; The Two Charters of South Carolina; Southern Review, 5 vols. 8vo; Hawkins' Quebec, 1 vol. 8vo.; and Butlers' Reminiscences, 1 vol. 12mo.; by Conway Robinson, Esq., of this City.

A Sketch of Petersburg, (by Peticolas;) by Wyndham Robertson, Esq., of Abingdon.

-A Portrait of Dr. Franklin, copied from the original of Greuze, by Mons. Guillaume, of Paris; by Hon. Wm. C. Rives.

In reference to this Portrait of Dr. Franklin, which is executed in the pastel style, and is a beautiful specimen of the art, Mr. M. read a letter from the donor, addressed to him as Secretary of the Society, which was apparently very agreeable to the audience, and ran as follows:

CASTLE HILL, 14th November, 1853.

*My Dear Sir,—* While I was in Paris, I sought diligently for some representation of an American subject by an eminent European artist, which might prove an acceptable addition to the collection already commenced by the Virginia Historical Society. I should have preferred that the subject were specially Virginian, such for example, as a reproduction on canvass or in marble of the features of some one of the great worthies of our own State, who, by their illustrious career of virtue and patriotism, have given us the proud name we bear before the world. No such work, however, being extant there, the next most desirable acquisition seemed to me to be an authentic likeness by a gifted contemporary hand, of the great American Philosopher and Statesman, who laid the foundation of our political relations with that country, and by his influence and popularity at the first court of Europe, procured for us the advantages of a powerful alliance, which stood side by side with us through the struggles and the triumphs of our great Revolutionary contest. Besides the common claim which Franklin thus acquired to the gratitude of all Americans, he has a special hold on the consideration of Virginians in the intimate confidence and friendship

which subsisted between him and our two great Virginia Statesmen, Washington and Jefferson, and which towards the close of his life, led to a noble and touching interchange of mutual esteem and affection between them, (with the former by letter and the latter in person,) of which History no where presents a more august and beautiful example.\*

I flatter myself, therefore, that in the Portrait of Franklin, which I left in your possession a few days ago, I am offering to the Historical Society of Virginia a memorial which they will be pleased to accept. It is from an undoubted original by Greuze, the most eminent French artist of the reigns of Louis XV. and Louis XVI. The original could not be purchased for any price; and the painting now offered to the Historical Society, executed by a very superior Parisian artist, is the only copy ever permitted to be taken from it, which was accorded as a special mark of consideration for the Institution to which it was destined, as well as of kindness to myself.

A brief history of the original painting may not be without interest to the Society. It was obtained by the present possessor from a descendant of Beyer. Beyer, from a zealous practical application to the physical sciences, came to be employed by the French Government to superintend the construction and arrangement of *Paratonneres*, or Lightning rods, on the public Edifices and Monuments of Paris. This employment brought him into communication with the inventor of the Lightning rod, who was then the American Minister at Paris, and who, from the sympathy for mechanical pursuits which his own early history naturally begat, took great interest in his new acquaintance. A mutual kindness sprung up between them. Beyer who was distinguished by his extraordinary mechanical ingenuity, invented among other things a contrivance suggested by Dr. Franklin's diplomatic wants, of which the inventor gives the following *naïve* account:

"Monsieur Franklin, during his residence at Paris, desired to

\* See Washington's Papers, by Sparks, vol. x., p. 33, and Jefferson's Writings, vol. i. p. 88.

have a means of writing without being seen. I invented for him *des tablettes mecaniques*, by means of which one may write in his pocket without looking at what he writes, and without danger of making mistakes."

The portrait by Greuze is supposed to have been presented by Franklin to Beyer in return for these kind attentions, and as a *Souvenir* of a friendship cemented by striking resemblances in their early career.

The best voucher for the fidelity of the portrait is to be found in its exact correspondence, (the fur cap alone excepted,) with the following familiar and playful description of himself, contained in a letter dated *Paris, 8th Feb. 1777*, addressed by him to Mrs. Thompson, (an *English* acquaintance,) only a few months after his arrival in France, on his memorable mission.

"I know you wish you could see me, but as you can't, I will describe myself to you. Figure me in your mind as jolly as formerly, and as strong and hearty, only a few years older; very plainly dressed, wearing my thin grey straight hair that peeps out under my *only coiffure* a fine fur cap, which comes down my forehead almost to my spectacles. Think how this must appear among the powdered heads of Paris! I wish every lady and gentleman in France would only be so obliging as to follow my fashion, comb their own heads as I do mine, dismiss their *friseurs*, and pay me half the money they paid to them. You see the gentry might well afford this, and I could then enlist these *friseurs*, (who are at least, 100,000,) and with the money I would maintain them, make a visit to England, and dress the heads of your Ministers and Privy Counsellors, which I conceive, at present, to be *un peu derangées*."

Praying you, my dear sir, to present these few words of explanation to the Historical Society with the painting I had the honor to leave with you, I remain,

With the highest esteem and respect,  
Very truly and faithfully yours,  
W. C. RIVES.

WM. MAXWELL, Esq.,  
*Secretary of the Va. His. Society.*

## THE VIRGINIA CONVENTION OF 1829-30.

*A Discourse delivered before the Virginia Historical Society,  
at their Annual Meeting, held in the Athenæum in the  
City of Richmond, December 15th, 1853. By HUGH B.  
GRIGSBY, Esq.*

*Mr. President and Gentlemen  
of the Virginia Historical Society:*

Could we point to some succinct and authentic record of the lives of those great men who laid the foundations of our institutions and reared upon them the structure, which it was the privilege of our fathers and ourselves for half a century to inhabit,—how delightful would be the office of pointing out their worth to the young men of the country, and of exhorting them to imitate their glorious example? Alas! no such record exists; and the Virginian, old and young, knows less of George Mason and Edmund Pendleton, than he does of the statesmen of Greece or Rome; and when the patriotic parent is sensible of the importance of imbuing the youthful mind with a knowledge of our early benefactors, he finds the task difficult and almost impossible. Much has been lost, but much may yet be done. I hold that every fact relating to those eminent men is of real value. It may seem at first immaterial to know that Pendleton was a cripple; but, when it is known that, lame as he was, and unable to rise from his chair to put a question to the house, he was nevertheless unanimously chosen president of the Virginia Convention of 1788, and allowed to perform the duties of the station sitting, and afterwards presided for so many years in our highest courts, the fact contains a moral which posterity will delight to learn and to apply. Let us hope that the glory of performing such

an office awaits some member of our association, and, if he should execute it with the skill and grace with which the character and services of Hampden have been recorded by an eminent Virginian, he will accomplish a work which the present age will hail with applause, and which posterity, if I may use the words of Milton just quoted by the chair, will not willingly let die.

I come to lay my own humble but grateful tribute at the shrine of the past, and, while I sincerely wish that the task of recalling to the recollection of the present generation the lives and services of the members of the Virginia Convention of 1829-30 had been assigned to worthier hands than mine, I trust the readiness with which I have undertaken it, deeply sensible as I am of its difficulty and delicacy, will afford no uncertain measure of the regard with which I cherish the purposes of our society, and of my thorough conviction of its importance to the historical literature of our native State. Premising that I shall mainly speak of those members who are no longer living, with a becoming respect to their memory indeed, but with all the freedom of history, I proceed at once to my office.

When the General Assembly of Virginia, during the winter of 1828-9, passed the act calling a Convention, to be composed of four delegates from each senatorial district, and required it to assemble in the city of Richmond on the fifth of October following, the attention of the people was soon directed to the choice of delegates to so important a body. Federal politics were laid aside; and public worth and eminent abilities were the only standards in the selection of its members. Actual residence was overlooked, and the unusual sight was presented of one district selecting its representatives from another and a distant one. What was rarer still, the opinions of many of persons voted for were unknown, and in a comparatively

few instances did any candidate address the people from the hustings.

A body of men, selected under such circumstances, might well attract attention at home and abroad ; and the period of its assembling drew towards Richmond a large concourse of intelligent persons from various parts of the Union. Young men came on horseback from Kentucky, Tennessee, and other Southern States. Statesmen, men of mature years, who had already earned for themselves a title to the public regard, ministers of foreign powers, who wished to see men whose names had become historical, educated men of every profession and class, came, many of them with their families, to behold the gathering, and listen to the discussions of the body. The citizens of Virginia, who came to Richmond from within her own borders and from abroad, would alone have formed an auditory, which any speaker would have been proud to address.

It was about ten o'clock of the fifth of October, 1829, a morning as lovely and as auspicious as could have been chosen, that hundreds of persons, of all ages, were seen thronging the public square, and walking through the apartments of the Capitol, now halting about the statue of Washington, which was soon to look down on some of the patriots and sages who had upheld the living original in the field and in the cabinet, then moving towards the library, then recently established, which was thrown open to public inspection. As the hour of twelve drew near, and the members elect began to assemble in the hall of the House of Delegates, and exchange salutations, the crowd gravitated toward the gallery and the lobby, and filled every place from which it was possible to see or hear. At twelve, the house was called to order by JAMES MADISON, who nominated JAMES MONROE as President of the Convention, and was seconded by JOHN MARSHALL. That the nomination

of such a man, made by such men, was unanimously confirmed, is known to all.

Here let us pause, and contemplate the members who then filled the seats in that hall. To behold those venerable men—to listen to their names as they fell distinctly and deliberately from the lips of the accomplished clerk, was to feel the whole history of Virginia from the memorable session of 1765 to that moment flash full upon you. It is true, that no member of the House of Burgesses of 1765 was present, nor any one, who, like the youthful Jefferson, had heard the eloquence of Henry in defence of his resolutions. Peyton Randolph had departed before the clouds had begun to break away from the sky of the Revolution. The waters of the Potomac and the Staunton had been flowing beside the graves of Washington and Henry for more than a quarter of a century; and before Washington and Henry had departed, Richard Henry Lee had been gathered to his fathers amid the shades of Chantilly. It was the fortune of George Wythe and Edmund Pendleton to survive to the present century, and to behold the federal government in the full tide of successful experiment, their ancient friend, Thomas Jefferson, at the helm. Paul Carrington, who had moved the appointment of Peyton Randolph as President of the Convention of 1775, and of Edmund Pendleton as President of the Convention of 1788, and was the last survivor of the House of Burgesses of 1765, had died eleven years before. The author of the Declaration of Independence, who, as a spectator in the lobby, had drank in the inspiration of Henry's eloquence in the debate on the resolutions against the stamp act, and has given us the most interesting reminiscences of the scene, had died in less than four years before the meeting of the body. These distinguished patriots were not indeed present in the Convention of 1829-30, yet were so con-

nected in their lives with those who were, that our whole history seemed reflected in the panorama that was moving before us. If Jefferson were not present, there was Madison, who carried out in the Assembly the great measures which his absence during his mission to the Court of France rendered it impracticable for him to do in person, and to whom he had recently said: "To myself you have been a pillar of support through life; take care of me when dead." If Pendleton and Wythe did not appear, there were Madison and Marshall, who had struggled with them in the Convention of 1788 against the eloquence of Henry, and who brought them into view; and if Grayson and George Mason were absent, there was Monroe, who united with them in opposing the adoption of the federal constitution by the people of Virginia. Marshall and Monroe had been with Washington in some of the hard contested fields of the Revolution, while Madison in the councils of Virginia, and in the Congress of the Confederation, had sustained by his eloquence and patriotism the plans of our Great Leader. If George Mason, who drafted the constitution which the Convention was assembled to revise, was no more, there was Madison who aided him in sustaining that instrument in the Convention of 1776, and who could speak in his behalf.

Perhaps the most important act in our history was the adoption of the federal constitution,—an act, the full purport of which was not known at the time of its adoption, if indeed it is fully known at present; and the history of that instrument and of the measures of those who carried it into execution, was wrapped up in the lives of the men who then sat in that hall. If to any one individual more than another the paternity of the federal constitution may be ascribed, James Madison was that man. It may be that the present form of that paper is from the pen of Gouver-

neur Morris, but Madison was the inspiring genius of the new system. He it was, who, while a member of the old Congress, drew the celebrated appeal to the people at the close of the war to adopt some efficient mode of paying the debts of the confederation ; who procured in 1786 the passage of the resolution of this commonwealth inviting the meeting at Annapolis, which resulted in the assembling of the Convention in Philadelphia ; who attended the sessions of that body, and as much as any one man, if not more, guided its deliberations. He, too, was the author of the letter accompanying the constitution, signed by Washington, and addressed to the President of Congress. He it was, who with Jay and Hamilton sustained the constitution by those essays which, under the name of the Federalist, have attained the dignity of a text-book and a classic. He it was who, more than any one man, braced the nerves of the Virginia Convention of 1788, while Henry, George Mason, Grayson and Monroe were breathing awful imprecations on the head of the new system ; and who drafted the form of ratification of that instrument by the body ;—a form destined to be known better hereafter than it is at present. He it was, who repaired to New York, and assisted in the deliberations of the first Congress. He it was, whose influence was felt in the federal councils, either by his personal presence as a member of the House of Representatives, Secretary of State, and President, or by his writings from 1786, when Virginia adopted his resolution inviting the meeting at Annapolis, to the moment of the assembling of the body of which he was then a member. The history of that one man was the history of his country. There, to the extreme left of the chair, as it then stood, dressed in black, with an olive colored over-coat, now and then raising his hand to his powdered hair,

and studiously attentive to every speaker, he was sitting before you.

When Mr. Madison took his seat in the Convention, he was in the seventy-ninth year of his age; yet, though so far advanced in life, and entitled alike by age and position to ease, he attended the meetings of the body during a session of three months and a half without the loss, so far as I now remember, of more than a single day. That he was entitled to the chair, and that the universal expectation was that he should receive that honor, none knew better, or could have acknowledged more gracefully, than did Mr. Monroe. He spoke but two or three times, when he ascertained that his voice was too low to be heard; possibly, too, he might have been averse from mingling too closely in the bitter strifes of a new generation. When he rose to speak, the members, old as well as young, left their seats, and, like children about to receive the words of wisdom from the lips of an aged father, gathered around him. That he still retained the vigor of his intellect, and that unapproachable grace in his written compositions, his two short speeches written out by himself, and his letters to Mr. Cabell, Mr. Everett, and Mr. Ingersoll on the Tariff, Bank and Nullification controversies, show clearly enough.

As a speaker, Mr. Madison was more distinguished by intellectual than physical qualities. His voice at no period of his life was strong enough to be heard distinctly in a large assembly. In the House of Delegates of which he was a member at intervals from 1776 to 1788, and in 1799, his influence in debate was more by the impression which he made upon prominent men than upon the house itself. The Continental Congress and the Philadelphia federal convention, in which he gained so much renown, were small bodies, rarely exceeding forty, and sometimes not half that number, and were within the range of his voice.

The first Congress under the federal constitution was composed of less than sixty members, Rhode Island and North Carolina not having then adopted that instrument, and its whole complement was but sixty-five. But in the Virginia federal convention and in the House of Delegates, the numbers of which exceeded those of the two bodies first named four times, and of the last named nearly three times, he was rarely heard throughout the hall. Several of the finest passages in his speeches in the Virginia federal convention are lost to posterity from the weakness of his voice.

His style of debate was in unison with his general character, and partook more of the essay than the speech. He adhered closely to his subject, and, avoiding all personalities towards others, was prompt, however, to repel them when aimed at himself. When Grayson, in the convention of '88, made some allusions to him of a personal nature, he instantly rose and demanded an unequivocal retraction. This was the only instance of a personal kind that he encountered during the session, and, perhaps, throughout his whole career, while Patrick Henry and Edmund Randolph, who had been friends, became, in the course of the session, bitter enemies; and it is probable that the amicable relations of George Nicholas and Henry were seriously impaired by the collisions of debate.

It would be difficult to estimate too highly his services in the Virginia federal convention. As he had studied the Constitution as a whole, which no other member except George Mason had done, and discussed it minutely in the numbers of the Federalist; moreover, as he had been one of the most active members of the body which formed it, he stood by its side throughout the session of twenty-five days, and explained its probable working as readily as if he had seen it in full operation for a quarter of a century. It required his ready tact, his range of historical illustra-

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tion, and his philosophical caste of mind which kept him free from the personalities of debate, to reassure the friends of the constitution, who were daily shaken by the vaticinations of Henry and Mason, and to reconcile them to its adoption. As it was, in a house of one hundred and sixty-eight members, it was carried by a majority of ten votes only. When it is remembered that the favorable vote of Virginia was alone wanting to save the constitution, eight States having already ratified it, and that North Carolina and Rhode Island afterwards refused to adopt it, it is more than probable that its rejection by the largest State in the confederation, as Virginia then was, would have settled its fate, and the federal constitution would have sunk to rise no more. If the adoption of that system were wise and proper ;—if it has shed boundless blessings on our own people, and lifted its cheering light to the eyes of the oppressed of every clime ; and if such a glorious result can be traced to the action of any one State and any one man, VIRGINIA is the State, and JAMES MADISON is the man, to whom honor is due.

I have said that Mr. Madison rarely took part in the proceedings of the Convention then sitting. It was in conversation that he made the strongest impression on the hearts of all who sought him. A severe student in early life, he never forsook his first love, and the accuracy and freshness of his literary and political reminiscences astonished the admiring listener. In the midst of his retirement he had watched the general current of history, and was prompt to correct any material error. His graceful refutation of a theory of the historian Robertson, which he presented in the course of an agricultural address in 1819, is well known ; and when Dr. Ramsay, in his account of the Revolution, alluded to the instructions of Virginia to her delegates in the Continental Congress, on the subject

of a surrender of the navigation of the Mississippi, in such a way as to conflict with the consistency of the State, he stepped forth and put the whole subject in its proper light. Whatever he did, was thoroughly done. The memorial on religious freedom prepared by him in 1780, in which he demonstrated, perhaps for the first time, the cardinal doctrines which ought to control governments in matters of religion, was mainly efficient in putting an end to that unnatural connexion between church and state to which some of the ablest statesmen of the Revolution, guided by early prejudice, too closely adhered, and will henceforth appear, as well from the beauty of its style as from the weight of its philosophy, among the most conspicuous religious landmarks in the history of our race. He was the delight of the social circle, and seemed incapable of imputing a harsh motive to any human being; and to a young friend, fresh from a New England College, he spoke of Quincy, Otis, Daggett, Dexter, and the younger Sherman,—men who had opposed his administration with a zeal that brought them to the verge of disunion—with as deliberate an appreciation of their merits as if they had held a far different course. But he preferred to dwell on incidents of an earlier period, and recalled to his young friends in his charming way the memory of Witherspoon who blended so intimately the duties of the scholar and the statesman, and who was the guide of his youth,—of Franklin, and of the elder Sherman, with both of whom he had been intimate in early life. His wife, whose elegance diffused a lustre over his public career, and who was the light of his rural home, accompanied him to Richmond, and, as you left their presence, it was impossible not to rejoice that Providence had allotted to such a couple an old age so lovely.

But, prominent as was Mr. Madison in that Convention, none would allow sooner than he that he was among equals.

No individual could vie with him in his peculiar career in federal politics, nor in that happy combination of faculties, which, comprehending all classes of political subjects, had adorned them all. In general learning he was not only ahead of his contemporaries in that body, but may be said to have stood alone. Not even the raciness and research of Mr. Jefferson could surpass him; and if he had devoted his time to jurisprudence, the student would not have been compelled, if he did not recognise them in Story, to look abroad for the blended strength and elegance of a Stowell. But there were men now before him, whose career was contemporaneous with his own, as well as others who had grown into eminence since the beginning of the century, who had shared or might well have shared divided empire with him. In surveying a body of men, the representatives of two generations, the observer, with a view of arranging them in their respective classes, would insensibly call to mind the leading epochs in the two great parties of the country, since the adoption of the federal constitution. This period, at least for the present purpose, readily resolves itself into four great epochs; the first extending from the organization of the government in 1789 to the close of the administration of the elder Adams; the second, from 1801 to the year 1806, when the restrictive policy of the administration made a breach in the ranks of the republican party; the third from 1806 to the close of the war in 1815; and the fourth from 1815 to the assembling of the Convention. Now of these important epochs the most influential personages were assembled in that hall.

Of the first epoch—from 1789 to 1801, there were Madison, Monroe, Marshall, Giles, Randolph, Taliaferro and Tazewell. The history of these names is the history of the period. Madison and Giles in the House of Representatives, and Monroe in the Senate, guided the counsels

of one great party, until the two first in 1798, retired with a view of entering the General Assembly, and the last was sent as envoy to the French republic. Their influence in their new spheres is known to all. Randolph did not enter the House of Representatives till 1799, and Tazewell, who had voted with Madison and Giles in the memorable session of the Assembly in 1799, and was elected to fill the vacancy made by the appointment of Judge Marshall to the War Department, did not take his seat till 1800.

Here we approach one of those monumental names which make the era in which they appear their own. What Edmund Randolph said of himself is quite as applicable to John Marshall,—that he was a child of the Revolution. He had seen the first flash of the war at the Great Bridge, had been at Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth, and had gone forth under Steuben. In 1782 began his legal and political career; and from that time till 1796, he was at intervals a member of the House of Delegates. Here he won some of his greenest laurels. In the Virginia convention of 1788, he made a speech which called forth the praise of Madison. It was near the close of this epoch he entered the House of Representatives, and, although he remained but one session, and made but one regular speech, he gained great distinction, and was regarded as the leader of the administration of Adams in the Southern States. He had fought the battles of his party with such success in the House of Delegates, and had inspired such confidence in his patriotism and purity of purpose, that the loftiest honors of the Washington and Adams' administrations were within his reach. Washington solicited him to accept the office of Attorney General and the mission to France; but he declined both; and it was only at the urgent solicitation of the greatest names that he consented at a later period to accept the French mission. From the War he

passed to the State Department, and thence, in 1800, to the office of Chief Justice, which he filled until his decease in 1835, a space of more than thirty five years, during which he was the judicial arbiter of his country. This is not the place to review his judicial career; but it may be said, that it was his singular glory that, though called from the fiercest political contests to decide questions which have been and are the themes of party discord, and concerning which there has been and will ever be a difference of opinion, he has not only escaped any serious suspicion of improper bias, but, by the supremacy of his genius and the simple majesty of his deportment, won the general admiration and regard.

The personal appearance of Judge Marshall, and his manner of speaking, will be known to posterity from the descriptions of Wirt, and the British Spy is in every hand. He spoke but seldom in the Convention, and always with deliberation. I would say that an intense earnestness was the leading trait of his manner. His first speech was made at a time when a spirit of compromise began to shew itself. When he had demonstrated conclusively that the federal basis was the mean proportional between the two extremes of the bases which had engaged the public attention, he examined with critical care the schemes which had been offered, and exhibited by way of comparison some calculations of his own. He bore his testimony in favor of the County Court system, and defended it briefly but ably. It was in the discussion of the judicial tenure, that he came forth in all his strength. The question was virtually the same as that presented in Congress in 1802 on the repeal of the judiciary act; and what enhanced the interest of the debate, was the presence of Mr. Randolph, who reported the bill to repeal the judiciary act of 1800, and of Mr. Giles who had advocated the repeal in the House of Rep-

resentatives, and both of whom engaged in the present debate. He spoke with deep feeling, and, though pressed by Tazewell, Giles, and Barbour of Orange, he maintained his ground with surpassing skill ; and when in conclusion, and under the full excitement of debate, he declared : “I have always thought from my earliest youth till now, that the greatest curse an angry heaven ever inflicted upon an ungrateful and a sinning people, was an ignorant, a corrupt, or a dependent judiciary. Will you call down this curse on Virginia ?” all felt the power of his eloquence. Let me observe that the debate on the tenure of the judicial office—a debate in which Marshall, Tazewell, Leigh, Scott, Johnson, Giles, Randolph, and Barbour of Orange, engaged;—was one of the most brilliant exhibitions of the Convention.

In the domestic relations of life, which, as they ever afford the true test of intrinsic worth, become the crowning grace of an illustrious character, he was beyond all praise. Great in intellect he undoubtedly was, but he was as good as he was great ; and those who knew him longest and best, found it hard to say whether they regarded him most with veneration or love.

But, however eminent as a debater, a statesman, and a jurist, it is in the garb of an historian that he will appear most frequently before the generations to come, and it is the only garb that sets ungracefully upon him. The life of Washington, if I may so speak, was made to order. The federal party was fast melting away. The administration of Jefferson was in the full tide of success. The alien law had expired by its own limitation. The sedition law had also expired, and its victims were set free. The judiciary act had been swept from the statute-book. The charter of the Bank of the United States and the assumption act were in bad odor, and would have been repealed, if it had

been practicable. The excise law was numbered with the slain. Every vestige of the past dynasty was disappearing. A new generation, which partook of the opinions around it, was stepping on the stage. Now was the time for a master spirit to appear, who might not only recover the lost ground, but gain fresh conquests. Politicians of both parties had long known the abilities of John Marshall. He had broken the force of many a democratic measure in the House of Delegates. In the convention of 1788, he seized with great tact the phantoms which the genius of Henry had raised, reduced them to substantial forms, and broke them on the wheel of his resistless logic. His correspondence with the French Directory, and especially the celebrated letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, almost a book in itself, which, though signed by Gerry and Cotesworth Pinckney, was from his pen, and which was not only unanswered but unanswerable, had been published in all the papers, and was universally applauded. His speech in the case of Jonathan Robbins, which was his first great effort in the House of Representatives, into which he entered soon after his return from France, raised his reputation still higher in the estimation alike of friends and opponents. And it was hoped that a history from his hand of the federal party during the administration of Washington, and under the wing of his great name, would make a deep impression on the popular mind. But to be effectual it must come forth at once. The most courteous republican was not bound to wait for it. A princely sum, then unknown in the annals of American authorship, awaited its completion. And in due time, and in five volumes, it made its appearance. Mr. Jefferson was in the second year of his second term. He had been re-elected almost without opposition. There was hardly a show of fight at the polls. To put down the doctrines of the party

of which he was the head was the mission of the new book ; and, by a singular coincidence, simultaneously with the appearance of the book, occurred the schism in the republican party on the restrictive policy of the administration. Still it came too late.

From the data already given, and with a knowledge of the fact that the author was engaged in performing official duties arduous enough to employ the time and all the faculties of ordinary men, a literary geometer might have described beforehand its essential form and character. Of all the kinds of writing that of history is most difficult. A great speech, a well-reasoned State paper, a fine poem, may be struck off from the impulse, or under the inspiration, of the moment ; but to write history requires other and more complicated qualifications ; qualifications which cannot be conjured up for the nonce, and which are so rare, that, while the number of histories is legion, the names of the great historians, like those of the great epic poets, may be written in a nutshell. Probably, when Marshall undertook the composition of his work, he had never contemplated with critical accuracy the distinctive merits of any great history. His early opportunities of acquiring knowledge were few ; and, instead of spending his youth and middle age in the closet with Hume and Gibbon, culling phrases and recasting periods, he was engaged in the field contending for the liberties of his country, or in the busy strifes of the bar in pursuit of an honorable independence. But this explanation, while it accounts for the absence of those qualities which make an excellent history, by no means supplies the defect. The result is, that the Life of Washington—I speak of the fifth and leading volume of the first edition—is a strong off-hand argument in defence of the measures of the federal party during the administration of Washington, and, if it had been pronoun-

ced in the House of Delegates, or in the House of Representatives, it would have passed well enough, and only becomes out of place when put into the mouth of the muse of history. As might fairly have been anticipated, a work from such a hand, though it was not to make a revolution in existing parties, produced a marked effect. Of its strictly literary merits, there was at home and abroad but one opinion; but, while the political friends of the author hailed its appearance with joy, and were quite willing to shelter themselves behind the massy bulwark which it reared in their defence, it was warmly condemned by the opposite party. Mr. Jefferson protested against it to the end of his life, and died in the full belief that Mr. Madison was preparing a counter-history, or at least a refutation of the fifth volume. Mr. Giles, at a late day, addressed a letter to the author, disclaiming certain expressions attributed to him, but not materially objecting, if I remember rightly, to their substantial meaning. It is proper to say that the second edition presents the work in a greatly amended form. The colonial history is separated from the body of the work, and has been revised with great care and respect for authorities then accessible. The style of the work is greatly improved in the new edition. Not only are the grammatical errors corrected, but the diction approaches to purity and sometimes to elegance. In a note to the second volume of the second edition, he examines at length the charges of Mr. Jefferson on the subject of the Mazzei letter, but does not allude to other objections urged by him against the work. From the blended influence of the names of Washington and Marshall, the history in its new form will always hold a place in our libraries, but it may be allowed the mere student of history as well as the statesman and the politician to regret that a history of the same

epoch from the pen of Madison does not exist to take its station by its side.

No two eminent contemporaries appear at the first glance to have fewer points of friendly contact and connexion, if not of resemblance, than James Madison and John Marshall. In their persons, dress, manners and mind, they appear to be in strong contrast. Madison, from infancy to age, was of a delicate constitution, small in stature, scrupulously attentive to his dress, and, though accessible and easy of approach, and in the highest degree courteous, was, like most delicate men, naturally reserved. Marshall enjoyed robust health in his early years, was six feet high, was ordinarily regardless of his personal appearance, and was hearty in his address, retaining to the last the downright cordiality of the camp. Madison was extremely social in his feelings, but these were exhibited in his parlour from the walls of which the works of the first masters of painting were looking down upon him, or in his library in the midst of his cherished books, with far more zest than under the freshening influences of physical exertion. If he sought exercise, it was on a well-broken horse, or from a drive in his carriage. He had no taste or strength for the rougher modes of muscular exertion. Marshall never lost his youthful habits of early rising, of walks over hill and moor, which he had taken with a musket on his shoulder and a knapsack on his back at the darkest hour of the Revolution, and of contests of personal strength. He would enjoy with as much relish a triumph on the quoit ground as at the bar, or on the bench. If Madison had lived in a city, he would have despatched every morning to market a well-dressed servant, with a tidy basket on his arm, and supplied his table through him. Marshall did his own marketing, and not unfrequently brought it home with his own hands. The grounds of Madison's town-residence

would have exhibited a specimen of landscape gardening, and a view *in petto* of the Virginian Flora. Marshall, like Stephen Girard, had no opinion of a plant or a tree that did not bear something for the support of human life ; and would have had a bed of fine cabbages or an orchard of delicious fruit. Madison spent his youth at Nassau Hall, as a student and resident graduate. Marshall had few opportunities of acquiring knowledge in his boyhood, and was engaged in the labors of the farm. Madison, who was four years older than Marshall, chose the cabinet ; Marshall took the battlefield and the bar. These diversities lie on the surface, and strike the attention at once. Yet it will appear that there were points of friendly contact and communion between these eminent men from the beginning to the end of their lives. Both were members of the House of Delegates prior to 1788, and exerted their influence to provide for the debt of the Revolution, and to amend the articles of confederation. When the federal constitution was formed, Madison and Marshall were among the ablest champions in sustaining it before the people. And when the Virginia federal convention was assembled, on Madison and Marshall, as much, if not more than on any other two men, did the responsibility of defending that instrument devolve. In the organization of the new government they went hand in hand. Both enjoyed the unlimited confidence of Washington, and could have obtained the honor of a seat in his cabinet. Marshall went to France in 1797, but Madison had previously declined a mission to the same court. Both filled the office of Secretary of State at the most trying periods of our foreign relations, and acquitted themselves with equal honor. Marshall was called to the highest seat in the federal judiciary, and Madison to the highest seat in the federal executive ; yet the questions which engaged the attention of each, from the

perplexed commercial relations of the period, were nearly the same. The famous tract of Stephen, "War in Disguise," was as closely studied by Marshall as by Madison; and, if Madison, as a politician, was required to refute it through the press, Marshall, as a judge, was compelled to examine its doctrines on the bench. From the commercial difficulties which existed from 1800, when Marshall took his seat on the bench, to 1817, when Madison retired from the Presidency, the number of topics of common interest between the Executive and Judiciary departments of government was greater than it has been since, or will be again, unless it shall be our misfortune to see all Europe at loggerheads, and to be involved in a quasi-war with the two greatest commercial nations of the globe. These eminent men moved in different orbits, but were bound by a common law and a common sympathy. Both possessed minds of the highest order—*magis pares quam similes*—and peculiarly adapted to their respective spheres. Both were distinguished for their generous humanity, the strength of their friendships, and the moral beauty of their lives. And, fortunately, both were summoned by their country to afford their aid in revising the constitution of their native State; and here—in this city—where it had begun fifty years before, and which had been uninterrupted by a solitary act or word of unkindness toward each other, both closed their long and illustrious political career.

Among the names of this epoch which demand something more than a passing notice, is that of WILLIAM BRANCH GILES. He had taken his degree at Nassau Hall in 1781, ten years after Madison had taken his at the same college, and had the good fortune also of receiving the instructions of Witherspoon, whose memory in familiar talk with his younger friends he delighted even in old age to recall. A member of the House of Representatives from

1790 to 1798, and from 1800 to 1803, and of the Senate of the United States from 1804 to 1815, he was beyond any other man the great champion of his party in public debate. That he performed his part successfully may be inferred from the fact that Mr. Jefferson pronounced him the ablest debater of the age. He was then the Governor of Virginia. In all things but in the vigor of his intellect, he was but the shadow of his former self. He could neither move nor stand without the aid of his crutches, and, when on the conclusion of his able speech on the basis question, the members pressed their congratulations upon him, he seemed to belong rather to the dead than the living. His face was the face of a corpse. Although he was four years younger than Monroe, seven younger than Marshall, and eleven younger than Madison, his personal appearance had suffered more from disease than that of any of his early contemporaries. To behold his rugged face and beetling brows, such as are now preserved in the portrait by Ford, it was difficult to believe that he was the handsome young man, radiant with health and arrayed in the rich costume of the last century, that is represented in one of the finest portraits from the easel of Stuart.

He was strongly attached to the existing constitution, which he had defended in one of his ablest speeches two years before in the House of Delegates, and he evidently came to speak on the basis question with his life in his hand. To criticize the action of a dying man would be idle enough; yet it was plain to see what were the characteristics of his manner in his prime. His mode of speaking was conversational. His political illustrations were mainly drawn from the British constitution, and from the federal government, in the service of which so much of his life was spent. His range of reading beyond the common walks of history did not appear extensive, and it was

obvious that he had paid but slight attention to the ornamental departments of literature. His comparisons were usually drawn from common life, and before a Virginia audience he was irresistible. He had practised law with success four or five years before he entered the House of Representatives, and was always able, with some preparation, to cope on legal topics with his ablest opponents. In his speech in the Convention on the judicial tenure, to which an allusion has already been made, he showed that he had not forgotten the excitements of a time long gone by, and gave to his auditors the best specimen which they had yet seen, of those powers of debate for which he was so justly renowned. It was his wish to speak on the subject of corporations, and he had prepared himself carefully for the occasion, but, his increasing infirmities confining him almost constantly to his room, his resolutions were definitively acted upon during his absence. His published writings, though revised by himself, will afford posterity an imperfect standard in estimating his powers in debate.

To those who are fascinated with the glitter of a public career the life of Mr. Giles presents a striking lesson. He had fought all the great battles of his party, many of them single handed, against the greatest odds and always with success, and borne the brunt of the fight from 1790 to his retirement in 1815 from the Senate of the United States. He had defended the Report of 1799 in the House of Delegates, and was mainly relied upon to withstand the force of Patrick Henry, who had been elected to the Assembly, but died before its meeting. He had more than any other individual, not excepting Mr. Madison, sustained the doctrines of his party in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, and was thoroughly committed to all its great measures. He had fought through the darkness of a long and cheerless night to the dawn of day, and just as

the day was breaking, and he felt that he might at length repose safely upon his well-earned laurels, a storm suddenly rose that was to sweep them from his brow.

The session of the General Assembly of 1811-12 presented a crisis in the history of parties. Issues that had been ringing for six years past in the public ear had suddenly died away. Non-intercourse and embargo were no longer talked of. The war, which was to sink them forever, and to cover the country with a blaze of glory, had not yet been declared. For the first time since 1806, the republicans, so called, had recently received the aid of their dissenting brethren. The constitutionality of a Bank of the United States had brought them together at the preceding session. But in the interval Mr. Giles had expressed some opinions in the Senate on the right of instruction, which were not in unison with those of his party, but had declared in the strongest terms his readiness to obey the instructions of the Assembly, and to carry out to the utmost all its wishes. As he was the oldest public servant in Congress, and had borne aloft the ark of the political covenant at a stormy period, when most of those who were about to instruct him were in their swaddling clothes or in the first forms of the schools: as he had ever been prompt in the discharge of the most difficult and perplexing offices of party, and had clung to the laboring oar while his compatriots had once and again sought the honor and profit of a foreign mission, or a seat in one of the departments or on the bench, or tasted the fruits of service in retirement, it would seem that a distinct affirmation of the principles of the Assembly, and an expression of its regret at the difference of opinion on this isolated question, coupled with an honorable recognition of the great services of Mr. Giles, were all that the occasion demanded. And in ordinary times such probably would have been the case. But

such a policy was not suited to the mood of the moment. It was a remarkable era of political fusion. Men, who had long eyed one another askance in the House of Delegates, now shook hands, inquired every morning after each other's health, and laughed immoderately at each other's jokes. The lunch and the dinner were potent weapons of the day. Cobwebs woven during the consulship of Plancus—*consule Plancō*—were hurriedly brushed aside, and the long-imprisoned juice once more sparkled in the face of day. There was a commingling of old friends and old enemies, of federalists and republicans, and of that vigorous offshoot of one party, and the active ally of the other, the *tertium quidz*. To bind together such a brotherhood two things were indispensable; a common ground to stand on, and a common victim. The first was found in the right of the Assembly to instruct the representatives of Virginia in the Senate of the United States, and the victim was found in the person of Mr. Giles. A more fortunate selection of a victim could not have been made. To the *tertium quidz*, who once loved him and hated him the more,—whose schemes he had ever been the first to detect and the strongest to crush,—he was thoroughly odious; he could not be more so than he was; and these enemies had become the eager allies of his friends. The federalists, who never loved him and who hated him the less, but from whom of all men living he had the least to hope, delighted at the prospect of beholding the sacrifice of their most formidable foe by his own friends, clapped their hands and shouted Io Pæan in the ecstasy of their joy. It was easy for the new brotherhood, under the influence of good dinners and old wine, to chat pleasantly of former times, to grow very loving, and insensibly to glide together to some half-way house in the past. It is a noteworthy fact in political ethics, that parties, when the danger is past, are too apt to sacrifice soon-

est those who were most prominent in defence of measures deemed vital at the time, but which in the retrospect appear of doubtful policy. Mr. Giles, two or three years before, had brought in a bill to define treason, defended it in a speech, and carried it through the Senate. He had also brought in a bill to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, sustained it in a speech, and carried it through the Senate. Unwise and dangerous measures these may have been at any time, but, when discussed over a glass of wine in a season of comparative tranquility, they were absolutely shocking. Still they were called for by a republican administration, and were upheld by its friends at a time when condemnation, if ever, was justly due. These bills were defeated in the House of Representatives. Here was another fact for the new brotherhood. It separated the republicans of the House from those of the Senate; and, if a Senator were sacrificed, the act might not only not reflect injuriously on the members of the House, but might imply an appreciation of their conduct. I do not affirm that these were the ostensible grounds of difficulty between Mr. Giles and the Assembly, nor is this the place to detail at length the controversy which ensued; but whoever will look into the secret history of that day will be apt to conclude, that the torch which was applied to the funeral pile of Giles was lighted at a fire kindled some years before for the sacrifice of a still more illustrious personage. The result was that Mr. Giles came to the ground with a force unknown in the annals of political tumbling. From a height of popularity almost unequalled he became the most unpopular man in the State. He lingered in the Senate until the beginning of 1815, when he withdrew to the Wigwam. Years rolled on. A retributive ray of the public sunshine was at last seen to play about his hoary temples, and to cheer his brave old heart. He lived to be

elected Governor thrice by a republican Assembly, and to gain distinction in a new sphere; but he did not live to see that mighty master-spirit, now sitting near him, who pressed the bitter cup to his lips, receive it on his own.

The second great epoch extending from the accession of Mr. Jefferson in 1801 to the second term of his administration in 1806, was fully represented in that body. Madison, whose nomination to the Senate had been defeated by Patrick Henry, and who had hitherto appeared in the House of Representatives only, now bore on his shoulders the burden in no wise light of the State department. In the Senate Mr. Giles sustained the administration with increasing fame, while Monroe, who had exchanged his seat in the Senate for the mission to England, brought his untiring industry and zeal to bear in the same cause abroad. Randolph and James Mercer Garnett, who were now in the House of Representatives, and Tazewell, who, unless when sent to the Assembly on some occasion of special interest to the people of Norfolk with whom he had now taken up his abode, was in private life, were toward the close of the term ranged in the opposition. Randolph had taken his seat in the House of Representatives in 1799, with but slight preparation for the new career he was about to begin. I am not aware that he ever spoke in public before he entered Congress. It is true that he was a candidate for Congress, when Patrick Henry, who was a candidate for a seat in the House of Delegates, made at the March court before the election from the porch of the old tavern at Charlotte Court House his last address to the people, but, having a severe cold, he was able to say a few words only; and all reports to the contrary must be ranked among those kindly myths which popular tradition delights to strew over the cradle of genius. He soon, however, attracted public attention by his fearlessness of spirit, and by the point and

brilliancy of his speeches in the house, and had now attained the responsible and laborious position at the head of the committee of ways and means. Thus far he had sailed with the administration. He had labored in the cause of retrenchment and reform with such indefatigable industry as seriously to impair his sight. He had made in his speech on the judiciary repeal bill by far his most brilliant display, and had heartily approved the purchase of Louisiana;—a measure which he then saw in all its present usefulness, and in all its glorious promise. From this date he declared unceasing war against his former friends. He well knew that the great party from which he was about to separate himself, guided by ancient associations, was disposed to regard France with kinder feelings than it did England, and he accordingly sought to put in train a course of measures which would involve the country in a war with Spain, which necessarily involved a war with France. He opposed with warmth the restrictive policy of the administration, and in later life he has been heard to say, that "when Mr. Jefferson made war upon his tobacco, he made war upon him;" and, as he is reported to have said, that his estate, when it came into his possession, was mortgaged nineteen shillings and six pence in the pound, it is quite certain that a policy which checked the free interchange of commodities with foreign nations, would prove most hostile to his private interests. Contemporaneously, however, with his hostility to the party of which heretofore he had been a prominent member, was the appointment of a Minister to the Court of St. James, and it was rumored that private griefs were mixed up with his politics. That such a charge was generally believed at that day is certain, and that the administration believed that he desired the mission to England and declined to confer it upon him, is a fact which seems to rest on unquestionable testimony. Whether Mr.

Randolph was privy to any action in the premises, is another and a very different question. There, sitting within a few feet of him, was the man who could settle the question at once. Yet let those who are inclined to think that personal feelings impelled Mr. Randolph in his new career, reflect upon his elevated position, and what it was to oppose such a man as Mr. Jefferson. I have already alluded to the exalted position of Mr. Randolph in the House of Representatives, and before the country. If we were to judge of the popularity of Mr. Jefferson by the standard which we apply to modern Presidents, we would err widely. It was far-reaching and overwhelming. Nothing equal to it had been seen before ; nothing equal to it has been seen since ; and nothing equal to it will, I trust, be seen again. Such was the fascinating address of that illustrious man, such the high estimate of his services abroad and at home, so universal was the confidence in his wisdom and ability, and, above all, in the goodness and purity of his aims, that in a contest with him any one man, or squad of men, would be indignantly cloven down. By others popularity must be wooed before it is won ; to him it came spontaneously on every breeze from the sterile hills of New Hampshire and from the remotest savannahs of that land of promise which he had recently added to the Union. While Washington had been unable to command the vote of the Virginia delegation in either house of Congress, and could only secure the ratification of the British treaty, on which he had set his heart, by a bare majority, the senators from his own state voting against it, it was only necessary for Mr. Jefferson to express a wish in favor of a measure to ensure its success. To go to war with such a man was to extinguish all hope of successful ambition. On the other hand it may well be thought strange, that a man, who had aided in bringing an administration into power, had de-

fended all its acts, and with the warmest zeal those most odious to its opponents, and had recently confessed his conviction of the honesty and purity of the men at the head of affairs, should suddenly turn about, and, disapproving a system of temporary policy, which his friends had been compelled, at an extraordinary period, to adopt, not for its intrinsic worth, but as the lesser of two evils, should not only draw the sword against them but fling away the scabbard. His efforts in such a position were any thing but refreshing. He was at once plunged into the midst of the federal party. Politicians have long memories. Men, who for the past seven years had been gritting their teeth at him across the desks of the House of Representatives, who believed that Randolph, though on their side to-day, might, if he were consistent, on a change of policy, be on the other to-morrow, and who knew better than he did the terrible strength of the administration, thought themselves sufficiently complaisant in adjusting their faces to a smile. To add to his embarrassment, though a few personal friends in and out of Congress upheld him, he saw in the popularity of the President, which was constantly increasing, that all his aspirations, if he had any, must henceforth be confined to the bosom in which they rose. Such was the state of things at the close of this period.

Of the epoch extending from 1806 to the close of the war in 1815, the representatives in the Convention were more numerous. In its course Madison, who was to write his celebrated letters to Erskine, which, like those of Mr. Jefferson to Hammond, still exhibit the finest models of diplomatic writing in our history, and was to put forth his answer to Stephen, whose "War in Disguise" was the text-book of the foreign and domestic foes of his administration, had become President, calling to the state department in due time his ancient coadjutor Monroe, with whom

he had adjusted, much to the annoyance of others, a very promising quarrel. Giles was the right arm of the dominant party in the Senate and had new duties to perform; for Randolph had not only abdicated the leadership in the House, but had become an enemy. Randolph, Garnett, McCoy, Bayly, Pleasants, Philip P. Barbour and Taliaferro, were at different times members of the House of Representatives. Randolph still continued in his solitary path, opposing the policy of commercial restrictions, and, what was singular enough, the war. He seemed to be alike unwilling that the administration should defend the country against the commercial despotism of France and England by legislative enactments and by the sword. He would not only allow our merchant ships to be seized, our sailors to be impressed, and our property to be confiscated by England, in violation of the laws of nations and of her own municipal law, but, though the ships of the enemy filled our waters and his feet were pressing our soil, he was unwilling that the administration should use either law or lead in our defence. His efforts, though frequent and long-continued, were of no avail, unless it be affirmed that the equivocal merit was his of transferring the honor of acquiring Florida from Thomas Jefferson to John Quincy Adams, whose pen at a later day was to win its fairest trophy in accomplishing a measure of such vital importance to the Southern States. Yet it was during this period that he spoke with the greatest preparation, and one of his speeches was not only republished in England with a laudatory preface by Stephen, the author of War in Disguise, but had the honor, then deemed no trifling one, of a review in the Edinburg; and it is to this period that the admirers of Randolph must look for the most vigorous productions of his mind. His speech on Gregg's resolution is one of his greatest efforts, and, if it has not the polish of his later

speeches, it shows the body of his mind in bolder relief. But, if Mr. Randolph gained reputation abroad, he lost it throughout the Union and at home. The state of Georgia, which had hailed his talents with enthusiastic applause, became so indignant at his course, that she blotted his name from her statute book and from her map. And in 1813 he was no longer returned to the House.

Of the new members who appeared in the House of Representatives during this period none has made a more lasting impression on the country, and won greater distinction for himself, than PHILIP PENDLETON BARBOUR. He came in toward its close. He had defended the administration in the Assembly and before the people, and was about to embark on a new and dangerous sea. But we must trace him in the Convention. That body was fortunate in availing itself, on the retirement of Mr. Monroe, of the services of such a man at its most difficult crisis. He had filled the Speaker's chair in the House of Representatives, and brought to his new office the knowledge and the tact which the occasion demanded. If he had not the personal presence of his friend Clay, or of another eminent Virginian who afterwards filled the chair of the House of Representatives, he was, perhaps, superior to either in a knowledge of the logic and law of parliament. The most intricate skein of parliamentary difficulties seemed to unravel at his touch, and such was the confidence in his judgment and sense of honor, that his decisions, which were almost electric, were always satisfactory. As a speaker, his great aim seemed to be to apply mathematical reasoning to moral and political topics, and to give his speeches the terseness and pith of a judicial decision. Few productions could stand the test of his severe analysis; and it is said that Mr. Clay, as his published speeches show, would not take the floor on constitutional questions until Barbour had spoken. His

voice was shrill and sharp; too angular for the public ear. His speech on the basis question is a fair sample of his mode of conducting an argument. He spoke with great fluency, and with much emphasis and gesticulation, and, intent on demonstrating the case in hand, thought the form of his argument needed not the aid of drapery. He was apt to apply his own standard of style and manner in estimating the eloquence of others, and when a person spoke in his presence of the eloquence of Daniel Webster, he admitted in all their extent the reasoning powers of that distinguished statesman, but not only denied his title to eloquence but the title of any man born east of the Hudson. Settling his creed in early life on the solid basis of demonstration, he continued to the end of his career the unfaltering advocate of all its great doctrines; and, although, unfortunately for his consistency, he was prevailed upon to withdraw his opposition to the bill incorporating the late bank of the United States, which was sure to pass without his vote, yet all the persuasions of Mr. Madison, whose representative he was, and of other friends, could not prevail upon him to follow the example of the party which had carried the country triumphantly through the war, and sustain that measure. He was about the middle height, remarkably thin, and rarely in robust health. He was plain in his dress, simple in his tastes, retiring in his habits. His early education was defective, and, although he had a general notion of what the Latin classics contained, there was that incompleteness in his knowledge which usually marks attainments in the languages made late in life, and he was more apt to make out the Latin from the sense than the sense from the Latin. Of course, he was altogether unversed in the critical niceties of that language; a defect which would have passed unobserved but for the frequent attempts which he made in the teeth of

the rule of Horace to coin words of his own. Hence it might well happen that persons who observed his attempts in philology which he thought he understood but of which he was really ignorant, would be prone to draw very unfair conclusions respecting his knowledge on other subjects as well as of his general ability. A strict economist from principle, he could walk with the Guyon of Spencer untempted amid the glittering treasures of the cave of Mammon; and when the state of Virginia remitted him what in those days was deemed a large fee for his services in the case of Cohens, he declined receiving it. It was on this occasion that he first came in contact with William Pinkney who was counsel for the appellants, and of whom, long after the grave had closed above that eminent lawyer, he ever spoke in terms of high admiration. He was a close student, and, amid the distractions of a long public career, never lost sight of the law. When a friend once called upon him during the winter of the Convention, he found him reading one of the volumes of Reports which had just appeared, and which, he said, afforded him a choice entertainment. He paid but little attention to literature, and in the lighter departments of letters he was so uninformed as never to have heard of Major Dugald Dalgetty of Drumthwacket, until Mr. Randolph introduced him to his acquaintance, and some time after, learning from a letter of a friend the history of the Major, he told it to his associates as a piece of news. Like Mansfield, he was more attached to law than to politics, and would have preferred the first seat on the bench to the first seat in the cabinet. In 1836, after a short term of service in the District Court, his aspirations were gratified with a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court. He had now attained the goal of his ambition, and all his faculties were called into full play. The federal constitution had been the study

of his life, and the leading cases of the reports involving a conflict of the powers of the state and federal governments were well known to him; but there were departments of the law, reared, during the third of a century then past, by a Stowell in the British Courts, and by Marshall and Story in our own, that were in a measure new to him; for, living within the shadow of the Blue Ridge, those important topics of his profession which bore the fragrance of the sea had not been brought ordinarily before him. But with Barbour to see a defect was to mend it;—to have an object in view was, as far as industry and sheer ability could go, to attain it. He was of all men whom I have known most devoted to an advancement in knowledge. He never stood still, nor halted by the way-side. He went from topic to topic. The acquisitions of one year became the solid foundations of those of the next. I have said that the law was his master passion. He loved those studies which are the handmaids of the law. Political economy and history were his delight. Not that history which Dr. Johnson defined to be the best, and which modern historians approve,—a history of morals or manners, but the political history of a country. Man in his political, not in his social, capacity was his study. He passed without interest over the description of a great battle, but looked closely to its results. Marathon, Morat, Waterloo, were soon read, but he never was tired of looking at the details of the Achaian or Amphyctionic league, of the Swiss confederation, of that condition of France when the feather of a Duke of Burgundy overshadowed the house of Orleans, or when the departments were amalgamated into a single system, and of the state of Europe when it was cut up by the sword of Napoleon and cut down by the goose-quill of Castlereagh. It was his misfortune never to have had access to a good library of the

law ;—one that held its antiquities and the great landmarks in its history. Nothing would have afforded him more exquisite delight than to have been able, instead of resting on the authority of Coke, to trace for himself Magna Charta through all its confirmations back to Runnimede and from Runnimede forward to the time when an elector of Hanover sat upon a British throne. As his learning was ever in the field of facts, not of imagination, he was irresistible in conversational debate. The recollection of the conflict at a Wistar party in Philadelphia between Mathew Carey and himself is still a subject of mirth to those who saw the discomfiture of the champion of a different system from his own. In his new sphere on the federal bench an illimitable field stretched far and wide before him. With the gigantic mind of Marshall he had long been intimate—in the very body in which he then sat, in the debate on the judicial tenure, he had sensibly felt its force ; but it was in his daily associations with the accomplished Story that he learned to feel, perhaps for the first time, the undying grace which letters shed upon the law. His improvement during the four years he sat upon the bench was striking. In an elegant tribute to his memory Judge Story states, that “during his brief career in the Supreme Court, he widened and deepened the foundations of his judicial learning to an extraordinary extent ; his reputation constantly advanced, and his judgments were listened to with increased respect and profound confidence. If he had lived many years with good health, he would not have failed to have won the highest distinction for all those qualities which give dignity and authority to the bench. It might be truly said of him that he was not only equal to all the functions of his high station but above them—*par negotiis et supra*. His country has lost by his death not only a bright ornament but a pure and spotless patriot.”

A beautiful tribute from one who was himself worthy of all praise, and who, like Barbour, is now only seen through that glorious light which exalted genius and virtue cast upon the grave. As it was, Virginia delighted to behold in Barbour the venerated name of her Pendleton invested with a new and appropriate illustration.

The fourth epoch in the organization of parties, extending from 1815, when the financial measures consequent upon the war with England which had just terminated, were adopted, to the period of the assembling of the Convention, embraced the history of some of the most eminent men in the body. Monroe soon succeeded Madison in the Presidency. Marshall was still on the bench. Giles, who was to yield to the thunderstorm, the first blasts of which he had defied, had not at the beginning of this period resigned his seat in the Senate. Tazewell was to begin his splendid career in the same body, in which his father had sat before him, both father and son succeeding, at a long interval, the same individual, the late John Taylor of Caroline. Pleasants, Randolph, and Tyler, during this period, also held seats in the Senate, Tazewell and Tyler at that time being the representatives of Virginia in that body. In the House of Representatives, Mercer, who in our own House of Delegates had attained distinction, and in the establishment of the Literary Fund had reared an imperishable memorial of his wisdom and benevolence, was to make his appearance. Alexander, Philip P. Barbour, John S. Barbour, McCoy, Pleasants, Powell, Randolph, Roane, Smith, and Tyler, were also at various times members of the House. A more brilliant delegation was rarely, if ever, contributed by a single state to the federal councils. Of the living I may not speak at length, and I regret that in this hurried sketch I am compelled to pass over so many of the dead. Randolph, who had resumed his seat in the House at the

next Congress after his defeat, appeared henceforth in a more auspicious light. The policy which had separated him from his early friends for the past ten years was at an end. Now it was his good fortune to remain, as he said on another occasion, *rectus in curia*, and his ancient friends of the dominant party, who were to expunge some of their own principles from their creed, were to bend before him. A new scene in political affairs presented itself. The public debt was enhanced many millions. Taxes must be levied to pay the interest and to create a sinking fund for the ultimate redemption of the principal. Manufacturers, which grew up during the restrictive policy and the war, now appealed to the friends of those measures in their behalf. All the expedients of finance were soon found to be necessary, and a bill to incorporate a bank of the United States was brought in by those who had nobly sustained the honor of the country through the perilous period which had just closed, but who had hitherto contested the constitutionality of such a measure. Randolph, for the first time in the past ten years, stood in the broad sunlight of his ancient faith. Free from the responsibility of providing for the results of a policy which he had steadily opposed, he had no inducement to depart from his principles and embark in a new crusade. He thought that, if a bank was unconstitutional when Jefferson delivered his written opinion on the subject in the cabinet of Washington, and when Madison made his great speech against it in the House of Representatives and prepared a veto for Washington in the event of his deciding to return a bill incorporating such an institution to Congress, it was unconstitutional then. And if it was unconstitutional as late as 1811, when the old bank sought a renewal of its charter, and was denounced by the dominant party, it was unconstitutional then. And on the score of expediency,

if it were inexpedient when the federal government was just stepping from its cradle under the guidance of Washington, when our foreign and domestic debts were unprovided for—when the very price of liberty was unpaid,—when our population, then small in numbers, had but recently exchanged the camp for the counting-house and the sword for the plough;—it was not less so, at a time when our country reached, not from Maine to Georgia, but from the Passamoquoddy to the Gulf of Mexico,—when our numbers had more than tripled;—when our commercial marine had borne our flag in every sea, and brought to our shores the treasures of every clime, and surpassed the tonnage of every nation except England under the sun. But he was to stand almost alone. Did Madison blush as he signed that bill? Did Marshall, when from that serene throne on which he had been sitting for sixteen years, and who, in a few years, was to record for distant ages his great decision in its favor, look over the ayes and noes on the passage of the bill with a smile of triumph or a sneer? Did Monroe, who had received on his person some of the sturdiest blows of the opposite party when Washington was its nominal head, and who was deemed a martyr in the republican cause—did Monroe, in the State Department or at the Council board, shed a solitary tear over the departed dogma? Did Randolph, on the passage of that bill, grieve more for the constitution which he believed to be violated in the house of its friends, than he rejoiced as he saw his ancient friends, who had read him out of the republican church, involved in the meshes of a policy from which his intuitive sagacity foresaw that they could not extricate themselves for a generation to come? There they are—Madison, Marshall, Monroe, Randolph,—gathered for the first time together under the same roof and in the same hall—they can speak for themselves.

Of all the members of the Convention Mr. Randolph excited the greatest curiosity. Not a word that fell from his lips escaped the public ear, not a movement the public eye. When he rose to speak, the empty galleries began to fill, and when he ended, and the spell was dissolved, the throng passed away. It was on the 14th of November he made his first speech. Mr. Stanard had just concluded his speech, and the question on the amendment of Judge Green to the resolution of the Legislative committee basing the representation in the House of Delegates on white population exclusively was about to be taken, when he rose to address the chair. The word passed through the city in an instant that Randolph was speaking, and soon the house, the lobby, and the gallery, were crowded almost to suffocation. He was evidently ill at ease when he began his speech, but soon recovered himself when he saw the telling effect of every sentence that he uttered. He spoke nearly two hours, and throughout that time every eye was fixed upon him, and among the most attentive of his hearers were Mr. Madison and Mr. Monroe, who had not heard him before since his rupture with the administration of their predecessor in the Presidency. From that day he addressed the body with perfect self-possession, and although he did not at any subsequent time speak at length, he frequently mingled with marked ability in debate; and it was easy to tell from the first sentence that fell from his lips when he was in fine tune and temper, and on such occasions the thrilling music of his speech fell upon the ear of that excited assembly like the voice of a bird singing in the pause of the storm. It is difficult to explain the influence which he exerted in that body. He inspired terror to a degree that even at this distance of time seems inexplicable. He was feared alike by East and West, by friend and foe. The arrows from his quiver, if not dipped

in poison, were pointed and barbed, rarely missed the mark, and as seldom failed to make a rankling wound. He seemed to paralyse alike the mind and body of his victim. What made his attack more vexatious, every sarcasm took effect amid the plaudits of his audience. He called himself on one occasion a tomahawker and a scalper, and, true to the race from which he sprung, he never explained away or took back any thing; and, as he knew the private as well as the public history of every prominent member, it was impossible for his opponents to foresee from what quarter and on whom his attacks would fall. He also had political accounts of long standing to settle with sundry individuals, and none could tell when the day of reckoning would arrive. And when it did come, it was a stern and fearful one. What unnerved his opponents was a conviction of his invulnerability apparent or real; for, unconnected as he was by any social relation, and ready to fall back on a colossal fortune, he was not on equal terms with men who were struggling to acquire a competency, and whose hearts were bound by all the endearing ties of domestic love. Moreover, it was impossible to answer a sneer or a sarcasm with an argument. To attempt any thing of the kind was to raise a laugh at one's expense. Hence the strong and the weak in a contest with him were upon the same level.

In early youth the face of Mr. Randolph was beautiful, and its lineaments are in some degree preserved in his portrait by Stuart; but, as he advanced in life, it lost its freshness, and began to assume that aspect which the poet Moore described in his diary as a young-old face, and which is so faithfully pourtrayed by Harding. His voice, which was one of the great sources of his power, ranged from tenor to treble. It had no base notes. Its volume was full at times; but, though heard distinctly in the hall and the

galleries, it had doubtless lost much of the sweetness and roundness of earlier years. Its sarcastic tones were on a high key. He was, too, though he had the art to conceal his art from common observers, a consummate actor. In the philosophy of voice and gesture, and in the use of the pause, he was as perfect an adept as ever trod the boards of Covent Garden or Drury Lane. When he described Chapman Johnson as stretching his arm to intercept and clutch the sceptre as it was passing over Rockfish Gap, or when he rallied him for speaking not "fifteen minutes as he promised, but two hours, not by Shrewsbury clock, but by as good a watch as can be made in the city of London," and, opening the case of his hunting watch, held it up to the view of the chairman; or, when seeking to deride the length of Johnson's speech, he said: "The gentleman said yesterday, or the day before, or the day before that," Garrick or Kean would have crowned his acting with applause. No weight of character, no grade of intellect, afforded a shield impenetrable by his shafts. Probably the committee to which was referred near its close all the resolutions of the Convention with a view of having them drawn in the form of a constitution, was the most venerable in years, in genius, in all the accomplishments of the human mind, and in length and value of public service, that ever sat on this side of the Atlantic. Madison, Marshall, Tazewell, Doddridge, Watkins Leigh, Johnson, and Cooke were the seven members who composed it. Yet Mr. Randolph, almost without an effort, raised a laugh at their expense. It appears, if I am not mistaken, that some qualification of the right of suffrage, which was embraced in the resolutions, was not to be found in the reported draft, and to this omission Mr. Randolph called the attention of the house. Mr. Leigh observed that, if Mr. Randolph's views were carried out, it would virtually leave

the entire regulation of the right of suffrage to the General Assembly. Randolph replied with all his peculiar emphasis and gesture: "Sir, I would as soon trust the house of burgesses of the commonwealth of Virginia as the committee of *seven*." I followed his finger, and amid the roar of laughter which burst forth, I saw Mr. Madison and Mr. Leigh suddenly and unconsciously bow their heads. He idolised Shakspear, and cherished a taste for the drama; and in this department of literature as well as in that of the older English classics from Elizabeth to Anne, and indeed, in all that was embraced by the curiosity and taste of a scholar, his library was rich. He spoke and wrote the English language in all its purity and elegance, and his opponents had at least the gratification of knowing that they were abused in good English. Indeed Madison could not vie with him in a full and ready control over the vocabulary or the harmony of the English tongue. His later speeches exemplify this remark in a more striking manner than his earlier ones. In his speech on Retrenchment delivered in the House of Representatives in 1828, one meets with sentences of great beauty, and it may be observed, that toward the close of that speech is one of the few pathetic touches to be found in his productions. Yet it may well be doubted whether his speeches will hold a high place in after times. His sayings will be quoted in the South, and some of his speeches will undoubtedly be read; but they will hardly emerge beyond Mason and Dixon's line, and never reach even within that limit the dignity of models. What Sir James McIntosh observed to an American respecting one of his speeches will probably convey, when oral tradition grows faint, the impression which they make on impartial minds,—that there was a striving after effect—a disposition to say smart or hard things beyond the ability. On the score of argument they

were beneath criticism. It is but just, however, to say that Mr. Randolph protested against the authenticity of most of the speeches attributed to him. Those in the published debates of the Convention are undoubtedly authentic, and must have received his revisal. But of his eloquence thus much may fairly be said, that it fulfilled its office in its day and generation; for it is unquestionably his praise that above all his contemporaries he was successful in fixing the attention of his audience of every class and degree throughout his longest speeches. The late Timothy Pitkin, a competent judge, who had known Randolph many years in Congress, observed, at a time when it was fashionable to compare Tristram Burgess with him, that you may as well compare the broadsword of a mosstrooper with the scymitar of Saladin. When it is remembered that Mr. Randolph, at all times infirm, was sometimes during the winter of the Convention in his own opinion at the point of death, it is a fact of great import, that at no other period of his career did he speak with more judgment and acuteness, nor on any other occasion did he so entirely gain the regards of the people of Eastern Virginia, or his genius excite greater admiration than by his exhibition in that body.

As we began this division of our subject with the name of Madison, we may not unfitly close it with a name which has been intimately associated with his for half a century, and which, though it has been prominently put forth already, calls for, at least so far as the Convention is concerned, a few passing remarks. The name of JAMES MONROE has yet to receive the exalted appreciation which it deserves, and which posterity will surely award. He lived so near our own time;—his administration gave birth to so many important questions about which parties have formed and rallied, that it is only from the pen of the his-

torian, who from the vantage ground of the distant future shall look back upon the past, that his character will receive a full and candid illustration. Allusion has been made to his service in the field during the Revolution, to his course in the Virginia federal convention, his mission to France, his election to the Senate of the United States, his mission to Great Britain, his nomination to the war and to the state department, and his elevation to the Presidency as the successor of the illustrious man whom he followed step by step throughout a long and glorious life. If to these appointments be added his election to the House of Delegates, especially in 1810, when he made a speech remarkable rather by the illustrations drawn from the history of the French Republic which he had personally observed, and the sound practical views with which it abounded, than by rhetorical skill, and his election to the office of Governor of this Commonwealth, the list of the offices held by him will be nearly complete. Of all the men who had filled the office of President of the United States to the period of his election to that high station, with the exception of Washington, his person was the most generally known by the people. He had mingled so freely with his fellow-men abroad and at home;—he had so frequently come in personal contact with the generation in which he lived, that hundreds of people who had never seen a more important personage than a captain in the army or navy, a member of Congress, or at most the head of a department, had not only seen him but shaken hands with him, and heard from his honest lips words of kindness and regard. He was borne into the presidential chair of the Union without a contest. His election and re-election seemed a matter of course. Strangely as it may sound in our ears, there was a prestige of military glory about him, which bound him to the hearts of the people. He was the first

incumbent of the chair since Washington filled it, who had seen the flash of a hostile gun, and had drawn his sword in defence of his country. As has been said, the time is not come, when an impartial history of his administration can be written; but we may be allowed to say that the most brilliant and honorable career that was ever presented to an American president was then before him. Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Madison, were beset with difficulties foreign and domestic, which consumed their entire terms of office. When Monroe came into power, the perplexities in our foreign affairs, which in one shape or other from the peace of Paris to near the close of Madison's term had worried every administration, and which, if they did not create, kept alive the party organizations of the day, were at an end. If we except a solitary question which had been settled for a term of years, a *carte blanche* of our foreign and domestic policy was within the grasp of his hand. In the selection of his cabinet, so far as the talents and the patriotism of its members were concerned, he was most fortunate. If we exclude the first administration of Washington, the country had not seen so able a cabinet. But, with the single remark that, whatever may be the opinions entertained of its policy, there was but one opinion of the honesty and unblemished purity of its head, we drop a veil over this portion of his history.

When Mr. Madison nominated Mr. Monroe for the chair of the Convention, he was aware of his physical inability to perform any laborious service; but he might have remembered that Pendleton, who presided in the Virginia federal convention, was in appearance more of an invalid than Monroe, and had performed the duties of the office with the recorded approbation of the body. But the nature of the two bodies was wholly dissimilar. In the federal convention, the main object of which was to consider

a constitution ready made, and which must be accepted or rejected as a whole, the discussions were conducted in the committee of the whole altogether, and the president was only called upon to occupy the chair for a few moments at the beginning and at the close of the daily session. Of the twenty seven days during which the convention held its sittings, Pendleton probably did not preside three entire days. The ayes and noes were called but three times during the session. The Convention of 1829-30 presented a very different scene. Here was no constitution ready made and to be ratified or rejected as a whole, but a constitution was to be made under circumstances of extraordinary delicacy. There was hardly a prominent member who had not a plan of his own on paper or in his brain, or, if his scheme did not embrace an entire system, it fastened on one of the great departments. Others came charged with a reformation of the County Courts, the abolition of the Council, and the regulation of the right of suffrage. The members on the most important question of the day had made up their minds, and one great division of the state was arrayed against the other. To preside in such a body required not only a critical knowledge of the law of parliaments, and the utmost readiness in its application, but a capacity of physical endurance which is not often possessed by men who have passed the prime of life. It is true that much was done in committee of the whole; but the final battle on every question must be fought in the house. For such a station, which required such a rare ability of mind and body, it is not uncourteous to say that Mr. Monroe, who was never much conversant with public assemblies, and was more infirm than either Madison or Marshall, was wholly unfit. Fortunately, before the day of severe trial came, he withdrew from the house, and left the toil and the honor of his responsible position to another.

Yet, while he remained a member, he engaged more than once in discussion ; and, though, at that period of intense excitement, his speech on the basis was listened to more as a means of knowing on which side of a question which was ultimately decided in a house of ninety six members by two votes his vote would be cast, rather than from any regard of its matter or its manner of delivery, he spoke more readily, and with greater self-possession, than might have been anticipated from one so advanced in life and so long retired from popular bodies. His animated description of the murder of a member in the midst of the French National Convention by a mob which marched among the members with the severed head of their victim stuck upon a pole ; a murder which was perpetrated in his presence while he was the minister near the Republic, and which, though he had described it in his speech in the House of Delegates twenty years before, was heard by most of the members for the first time, made a strong impression. The resignation of the chair and of his seat was received with the deepest respect, and there was a shade of sorrow on every face when it was officially stated that his venerable form would be seen in that hall no more, and that so great and so good a name would no longer adorn the records of the house.

I have thus far dwelt on that aspect of the Convention which presented the greatest attraction to persons from abroad ; it is now my purpose to regard it more in the light in which it appeared among ourselves. The members who had served in the federal councils deserved all the consideration which they enjoyed ; but those who had not then appeared beyond our limits possessed abilities of the highest order, and had won a distinguished reputation at home. And it was soon seen that upon them mainly devolved the most important labors of the body. Doddridge,

Upshur, Morris, Baldwin, Scott, Cooke, Joynes, Broadnax, Summers, Fitzhugh, Johnson, Leigh, and others, busily engaged in the pursuits of private life, had not passed beyond the limits of Virginia, but had long been engaged in her service, and excited the greatest interest among the people. There was also a brilliant coterie of a younger date, who had already been prominent in the Assembly, and were destined to rise to still greater distinction abroad; and let me say to you, sir, that nothing so much impresses upon my mind the rapidity with which we are passing away, as the reflection that nearly three score years have rolled over the heads of Mason of Southampton, Mason of Frederick, Goode, Morgan, Gordon, Loyall, Logan, Moore, Thompson, and others of that gallant groupe ; and I am sure you will join with me in paying the passing tribute of a tear to the memory of one—not the least brilliant of them all—the lamented Dromgoole. But to our task.

It will be remembered that the first great speech on the basis question was pronounced by Judge ABEL PARKER UPSHUR of Northampton. He had spent his youth at Princeton, and early devoted himself to the study of the law. He entered the House of Delegates in 1819, and was a member at intervals until his elevation to the bench of the General Court, of which he was then a member. He was in the full vigor of manhood, having just attained his fortieth year. He was called unexpectedly to the floor, but he more than fulfilled the public expectation. His commanding person, his graceful and animated action, the unequalled strength and beauty of his argument, the accidental yet fortunate position he occupied on the floor, which enabled him to see and be seen by the hundreds who thronged that hall, produced a fascinating effect. Persons from abroad, who had come to listen to the eloquence of the eminent

men whose names had become the household words of the country, heard his speech during the two days of its delivery with astonishment mingled with delight. The East could not have opened the campaign under more favorable auspices. Nor was the effect of the speech on the body itself less remarkable. It was as conclusive on the branch of the subject which it discussed as ever speech could be, and hermetically sealed a fountain which had been gushing copiously for years. Few speakers possessed in the same degree with him the faculty of subtle disquisition, and in the House of Delegates he had frequently displayed great skill in debate. There are those now present, perhaps, who remember his contest in that body with the late Gen. Blackburn, who, himself the hero of a hundred fights, confessed his power. Nor was his eloquence exhibited in public discussion only. He was as great with his pen as with his tongue. His address before the Historical Society, written on a topic of vital interest to the South, has not yet received full credit for the cogency of its logic and the beauty of its style. He was a native of the Eastern Shore ;—a slip of country, which, however rich in its soil, is still richer in the genius and patriotism of its sons, and which then contributed an able delegation to the body. It is mournful to think that such a man, when he was called to a sphere commensurate with his fine abilities, was so suddenly taken away.

With all who are conversant with the legislative history of the state the name of PHILIP DODDRIDGE has long been familiar. Perhaps, to him more than to any other man living, disconnected from the public press, the Convention then sitting owed its existence. As early as 1816, with Smythe and Mercer, he had fought the battle in the House of Delegates with success, but his favorite measure was defeated in the Senate. Then, and not till then, did he

approve the passage of the bill re-arranging the Senatorial districts on the basis of white population. Although he never entirely forgave the East because the districts were re-arranged on the census of 1810, and for the loss of a fraction of population which he thought was due to the West, he was candid and generous in his appreciation of the talents displayed by his opponents on that occasion, and often in private, and more than once in debate, spoke of the argument of Tazewell in reply to Gen. Smythe on the convention-bill of that session as by far the ablest he had ever heard in a deliberative assembly. A member of the House of Delegates at intervals through a long tract of time, he was in that body during the session of 1828-9, when the bill calling the existing convention became a law, and sustained it with a masterly speech. It may not be unjust to the living or the dead to affirm that of all the distinguished representatives from beyond the Ridge, he held the first place in the estimation of the West. There his early history was known ; there his fine talents brought forth their first fruits ; and there was the theatre in which his greatest forensic efforts were made. There was something, too, in the fortunes of a friendless youth, with no aid but from his own untiring spirit, winning his way to the highest distinction yet retaining to the last the simple manners of early years, which appeals to the best feelings of the human heart every where. The people of the West knew and loved the man, but they had known and loved the boy. The interview of the young Doddridge, chubby, sunburnt, ungainly, and in his boatman's garb, with the haughty governor of the Spanish territory on the Mississippi—neither understanding the native language of the other, but conversing in bastard Latin which the youth had picked up while his fellows were pinking squirrels out of the tree-tops of the yet unbroken forests of the West,

would form a suggestive picture, which, I hope, the brush of some Western son of genius will commit to canvas for the admiration of future times. Well and worthily did he requite the affection of the West. Not only in his great speech on the basis question, when the hope of triumph was bright before him, but afterward, when his plans were thwarted, did he strive to secure the great object of his mission. As a speaker, he had many great qualities—readiness, fluency, and an unlimited command of all the logic, and, what was of great importance in that body, of all the statistics of his case. Irascible even, and prompt to take offence where offence was intended, he was distinguished for great courtesy in debate;—a trait so distinctly marked as to call forth the pointed acknowledgment of Randolph. Whether he prepared himself expressly for the occasion I cannot say—for the whole subject had been the study of years—but in the great debate on the basis, and in the innumerable ones which would suddenly spring up, he was a gushing fountain of facts and figures. He had none of the ordinary graces of a speaker about him. His voice seemed to come from his throat and had no freedom of play. He was low and broad in stature; his features were heavy, though to a close observer they might bespeak a great mind in repose; and in his dress he was a very sloven. Indeed his form and dress, even his position in the Convention as well as the powers of his great mind, are foreshadowed by Horace in his third satire as faithfully as if the Tiber and the Yohogany were sister streams:

Iracundior est paulo; minus aptus acutis  
Naribus horum hominum; videri possit, eo quod,  
Rusticius tonso toga defluit, et male laxus  
In pede calceus hæret. At est bonus, ut melior vir  
Non aliis quisquam; at tibi amicus; at ingenium ingens  
Inculto latet hoc sub corpore;

I have spoken of the readiness of Doddridge in debate. He was occasionally very happy in retort. When he was replying in the legislative committee, which held its sessions in the Senate chamber of that day, to an argument which Tazewell had just delivered, he remarked, alluding to the Convention bill of 1816, that he had heard that argument before. Tazewell observed audibly: *Ergo* it is unsound. Doddridge instantly retorted: *Ergo* it has been *answered* before. Though a resident of that region which has not inaptly been termed the pan handle of the state, and in his daily offices mingling more with the people of other states than with our own, he was as true a Virginian as ever trod our soil, and was among the last of our eminent statesmen who spoke with something of the acerbity of personal feeling of the craft with which the Pennsylvania commissioners, at the head of whom was the celebrated Rittenhouse, are reputed to have beguiled our own out of thousands of acres of our most fertile territory. On his return home he was elected to Congress, and, while engaged in reducing to a code the local laws of the District of Columbia,—an office for which he was peculiarly fitted, he was, like his colleagues Upshur and Barbour, suddenly cut off.

Another of those remarkable men who had not appeared in the federal councils, whose mind was formed to grapple with the most complicated topics in law and politics, and who took a prominent part in the proceedings of the Convention, was ROBERT STANARD. It was the singular honor of Richmond that the names of four such men as Marshall, Leigh, Johnson, and Stanard, were enrolled among its residents. But Stanard held his seat as the representative of another district. The ground he stood upon in the Convention was an elevated one. His appointment came from a district in which he had spent his early life, and

which he had represented in the Assembly, but from which he had been separated for years. When Mr. Stanard rose to deliver his speech on the basis, Mr. Johnson had just concluded his great speech on that subject, which may well be supposed to have made a deep impression on his audience. Still the body was jaded and fagged, and the Western members, who anticipated a triumph, were anxious for the question. On the side of the East, which might gain but could not lose by delay, although the members were worn in some degree by the protracted discussion,—for it was as late as the fourteenth of November when Mr. Stanard began his speech, there was a strong desire not only that the speech of Johnson should be examined, but that certain epithets, such as aristocrat and the like, should be repelled, and the misrepresentations of some of the arguments of Judge Upshur on the principles of government should be corrected. What rendered such a coerrction necessary, was the fact that the East not only received no support from the press of Richmond, but found in its editors the most influential opponents of its favorite basis. And this leads me to say that there were sitting at the clerk's table, busily engaged in taking notes of the proceedings, two men, not members of the body, filling no civil office, who then wielded a greater influence over the people than any other two men in the State, and had long favored; though with very different ulterior views, a change in the fundamental law. The elder of these for a quarter of a century had edited a journal, which was the leading organ of the dominant party in the State, with a zeal and ability hitherto unknown in our annals, and with corresponding success. He had taught the people to think his own thoughts, to speak his own words, to weep when he wept, to wreath their faces with his smiles, and, over and above all, to vote as he voted. A sovereignty so comple<sup>t</sup>

over the public mind was not likely to pass uncontested. Boys, who had just laid aside their satchels; statesmen who had lost office or sought it under a new system; writers of every degree, dipping their pens in ink not unmixed with gall, sought to impair it, and sought in vain. Popularity, running through a long lapse of years, and questioned at every step of its progress, is rarely an accident; and it is certain there was an abiding conviction that such influence was wielded by its possessor in a good cause, and that he was as honest as he was able. In person he was tall and lean; his profile so distinctly marked as not, if once seen, to be easily forgotten; quick in all his movements, and in his gait he leaned slightly forward. Nor did he spurn the duties of the toilet. In this respect at least he had no mark of the professional devil about him. In the relations of life he was eminently courteous and social, and withal was the most laborious man of his age. The editor of a daily commercial paper and a semi-weekly political one must be a busy man. For many years he drew largely on the small hours of the morning. I have spoken of his tact as a party manager. He never lost his temper. He may have acted unwisely, but never rashly or foolishly. If he was sometimes seen to trip or fall, it was only to rise again, like Antæus, with redoubled strength. All parties have their family troubles. It would happen at times that a politician, who was persuaded by his friends that he did not enjoy that consideration in the party to which he was entitled, would run restive; and it was amusing to see the skill with which our editor would reeve a cord through his nose and lead him cosily about. But it was mainly when a politician abjured his allegiance and joined the opposite party, that his full force was felt. The abuse of his quondam Palinurus was the burden of the rebel's song, and if the abuse of enemies constituted moral wealth in the

eyes of friends, he would have been the richest man in the country. Nor did this abuse affect his equanimity ; for in his busy life it became a matter of course, and he may be said never to have been at peace but in a state of war—never out of trouble but when in it. But, as THOMAS RITCHIE still lives, it is beyond our present purpose to say farther than that all the influence of such a character was thrown on the convention question into the scale of the West.

The other person then sitting near him was much younger in years, small in stature, careless in his apparel, his face bearing a weight of premature care—a prophetic face, which was redeemed by a brilliant eye. His intellectual endowments were of a high order. In wit, sarcasm, scorn—in a ready command of the choicest words and phrases—in a knowledge of men and things passing before him, and in those qualifications which make up a dashing editorial, he had no superior—hardly an equal. His writings made a new era in our newspaper literature. Some of his finer touches were beyond the reach of FONBLANQUE. He made enemies, as all men, who in exciting times bring positive qualities to bear on exciting topics, are prone to make : yet there were few of his political opponents who did not occasionally relish his raillery even when it played upon their own party. He sometimes fell into amusing mistakes : for he had read history rather by dwelling on favorite eras, within the range of which he delighted to linger, than at large, and he was apt, in the hurry of the moment, to gather his knowledge at second hand ; and the lightnings of his genius often scorched too severely the objects on which they fell. Nor did he possess—perhaps he scorned it—that exquisite tact which is required in a public leader in a country like ours, and which was the prominent characteristic of his great opponent ; for, with

the single exception of the convention question, THOMAS RITCHIE and JOHN HAMPDEN PLEASANTS held no political topic in unison; but on that common ground they plied their constant task. Hence, as the East had no representative through the press, nothing could have been more opportune than the speech of Mr. Stanard. He opened magnificently on the "war of epithets," as he termed it, and analysed the arguments of Johnson with wonderful skill, carrying out his concessions to results which were as unexpected to Johnson as to his audience at large. When he had brushed away all the false guises which he thought had concealed the true question at issue, he proceeded to discuss it, dwelling incidentally on the arguments of the members who had preceded him in debate, and subjecting them to the test of the severest logic. He recalled to the attention of the house an argument of Mr. Leigh on the results likely to flow from a rejection of the federal basis by a Southern State, showed that it had been evaded, or not met at all, and urged it with such force as to make a deep impression on the body. From his habits of thorough analysis and his high mathematical attainments he was well qualified to examine the doctrine which had been urged in debate of the applicability of the exact sciences to politics, and he performed the office with great ability. He spoke from the conclusion of Mr. Johnson's speech to the adjournment, and for the larger part of the next day, and was listened to with untiring interest by members on both sides of the house; for not among the least interesting parts of his address were the interlocutory discussions that arose on the part of those whose arguments were subjected to his searching examination. His speech is reported with considerable fullness, and it is to this speech that a majority of readers, not familiar with the law reports, must look in forming their opinions of his ability as a pub-

lic speaker and the qualities of his intellect. With the proper qualifications with which one should read such a speech, taken down by a stenographer, and corrected, if at all, by the speaker when the glow of the moment is gone, it will be found to sustain the burden of a large and vigorous reputation. He dallied not in flowery meads or by the banks of flowing streams; he left Shakspear and Milton—the drama and the epic—to the other members of the committee to use or abuse as they pleased; but every word that he uttered—every sentence that fell from his lips—was a step in the progress of his argument,—was a link in that chain with which he bound his opponents. Epithets applied to persons had no place in his vocabulary; yet his speech was as personal as it well could be; and the different explanations that were elicited during its delivery were as painful and more vexatious to the parties concerned, than if he had written the most opprobrious names on their foreheads. He was especially successful in annoying his opponents by collating their respective arguments and comparing them with each other—a tender office, which in his hands was apt to breed trouble in political families. His speech and that of Upshur, though differing as widely as possible from each other, may be regarded among the finest models of parliamentary discussion to which the Convention gave birth. The speech of Joynes, incomparable in its way, was mainly limited to the financial view of his subject, and was not designed to embrace a full examination of the multiform principles which lie at the foundation of the social compact. With all our state affairs Stanard was intimately acquainted, having served his apprenticeship in the House of Delegates of which he had been the presiding officer, and it is worthy of remark that the discussions of the Convention were mainly conducted by men who had spent a term of service

in that school ; and, perhaps, it may be said, that, if to any one source more than another the excellence of our public speakers may be attributed, it will be found in their early and habitual service in the General Assembly. If Mr. Stanard were able in debate, there were others who possessed in a far higher degree the perfections of an orator. He had a hesitancy in his speech, or the defect may have arisen from the habit of recalling his sentences in order to put them in another form, and his diction, though correct and at times caustic, did not abound in the graces which rarely pertain to those who refuse to pay their court at the shrine of the Muses. He was a strenuous advocate of the independence of the judiciary, and not approving of the provisions of the new constitution on the tenure of the judicial office, voted against its final adoption. He again entered the House of Delegates, and made a speech in opposition to the Expunging Resolutions, which was one of the most elaborate, most subtle, and most eloquent speeches ever pronounced within its walls. He was afterwards elected to the Court of Appeals, and at the time of his death held that station which he eminently adorned.

It would be amiss even in this hurried sketch of the eminent members of the Convention who had not appeared in the federal councils, to omit the name of Gen. ROBERT BARRAUD TAYLOR of Norfolk. He was educated at William and Mary, where he held a prominent position among the young men who then attended that institution. Rarely does it happen that a greater number of distinguished pupils were ever present at a single seminary at the same time than were then gathered in those classic halls. There was JOHN THOMPSON, the author of the Letters of Curtius addressed to Gen. Marshall,—one who I have heard his surviving classmate declare was the most extraordinary young man he

ever knew, and over whose early death Virginia well might mourn; JAMES BARBOUR, whose honorable career in our public councils as a member of the House of Delegates and of the Senate of the United States, Governor, Secretary at War, and Minister to the Court of St. James, is a part of our history; WILLIAM HENRY CABELL, who, having received the highest civil and judicial honors of his native State, and displaying in the society of the metropolis in which he moved for half a century an urbanity and grace peculiarly his own, died recently at an advanced age; JOHN RANDOLPH, who, brilliant as he was, was in the midst of his equals; and LITTLETON WALLER TAZEWELL, who then displayed those qualities which were to add new glory to a name already distinguished in our annals, and who, on the banks of the Elizabeth, in the midst of a lovely family, and in full possession of his great faculties, still survives. Strictly speaking, they were not classmates. Randolph and Tazewell studied Cordery together, and were classmates at the grammar school in Williamsburg for several years, but were not in college at the same time, Randolph having gone abroad and not returning to William and Mary until Tazewell had taken his degree. Thompson and Tazewell were classmates, but when Tazewell was in the senior class, Barbour, Cabell, and Taylor were in the junior, which Randolph did not join until it became senior.

The *physique* of these young men was as remarkable as their *morale*. Barbour, Cabell, and Tazewell were six feet high and upward; Taylor did not quite reach that standard of height, but was one of the most imposing and elegant men of the age. Thompson was about the height of Taylor, his features peculiar and far from handsome, with a grey lustrous eye. Randolph in early youth surpassed them all in beauty. A friend, who saw him with his mother in New York in 1786, spoke of him as a beautiful and

fascinating boy, and I have heard one of his schoolfellow<sup>s</sup> describe him as the most lovely youth he ever beheld, his face exquisitely formed, his complexion brilliant, and his eyes blacker, if possible, than in manhood. These were the associates of Taylor in his college years, and with them he pursued the study of the law. In the politics of early life Gen. Taylor differed from his colleagues, and, while they sustained the doctrines of the republican party, he embraced those of the opposite school. All these young men except Thompson almost immediately entered public life. Cabell became a member of the House of Delegates as early as 1795, where he remained, with an interruption of three years, until 1805, when he was elected Governor, and, on the expiration of his term, a judge of the General Court, and afterward a judge of the Court of Appeals, crowning his public life with the highest judicial honor which Virginia could bestow. Barbour, Cabell, and Tazewell were members of the House of Delegates in 1798-99, and supported John Taylor's resolutions; and in 1799—1800, Barbour, Tazewell, and Taylor were members of that body, the two first sustaining the report of Mr. Madison, and the last opposing it. In 1799 Randolph took his seat in the House of Representatives, in which body and in the Senate, he spent nearly the whole period of his life. At a later date there was a change in the political relations of these young politicians. In 1806 Thompson was no more; but from that time until 1816, Randolph in the House of Representatives, and Taylor and Tazewell in private life, opposed the administrations of Jefferson and Madison, while Barbour and Cabell, both of whom filled the office of Governor during this interval, sustained them. It was in 1809 that Gen. Taylor became a candidate for Congress in the Norfolk district in opposition to Col. Newton the democratic nominee, and was defeated. Still, such was the

rank which Taylor held in his profession, having been engaged for nearly the third of a century on one side or other of every important case in the Norfolk circuit, and so great was his zeal in its pursuit, he had no time for studies not bearing directly upon the business of life. Hence politics, as a science, may be said hardly to have engaged his attention; and so slightly acquainted was he with the state of parties and opinions in the commonwealth, that in a speech before the people during the canvass, he proposed as his favorite basis of representation the striking of one member from each county,—a result highly acceptable to his constituents, as it left the balance of power just as it was,—and defended this scheme at length on the ground of economy and expediency. It was not until the meeting of the body that the white basis was presented to his view, when he embraced it with that zeal which marked his character; and instantly arriving at the conclusion that no other basis was consistent with a republican system, and knowing that nineteen-twentieths of his constituents were opposed to his views, he resigned his seat. His letter of resignation is fitly inscribed on the journal of the Convention, and, elegant in point of composition, will reflect on future times the chivalry of his character and his unspotted purity of purpose. When the Loudoun delegation elected him the successor of Mr. Monroe, he sent in a graceful but prompt declination.

It has been stated that Gen. Taylor was opposed to the policy of Mr. Madison; yet, when war was declared, unlike his friend Randolph who refused to vote appropriations for the public defence in flagrant war, he was among the first to rally around the standard of his country. He was appointed the commanding general of the forces at Norfolk, and, although no opportunity occurred of meeting the enemy, it was well known that, in the event of an engagement, he

would have achieved all that undaunted valor could have won. On his retirement from service, Mr. Madison tendered him the appointment of a general officer in the regular army, but he declined the honor. With the exception of a seat in the House of Delegates in 1826-7, when he opposed with all his ability the Tariff resolutions of Mr. Giles, he held no civil office from the commencement of the century to the year 1830, when he was appointed judge of the Norfolk district under the new constitution—an office which he held but three years when his country was called upon to lament the death of one of the most devoted patriots and most accomplished men..

It was on the conclusion of Judge Barbour's speech that Gen. BRISCOE G. BALDWIN rose to address the house. He had long been a favorite son of the West. Some years previously he had been a member of the House of Delegates, and, associated with Sheffey, the Roger Sherman of the West, had exerted himself to effect the removal of the seat of government from Richmond to Staunton. In the discussions on that question he sustained himself with marked ability, and, if he did not succeed in his object, gained an increase of reputation. He was one of the finest looking men in the Convention, was six feet in height, and of commanding proportions; and he was most cordial in his address. The leading trait of his speech on the basis was its generous humanity. This is no common praise. At a time of high excitement such as then prevailed, it required no small degree of moral courage to talk of peace. He scorned a war among brethren, and made an eloquent appeal to the body in favor of extinguishing the passions of the moment at the altar of one common country. His manly form is fresh before me as he spoke that day. It may be said, that his speech, apart from the chivalric spirit which it breathed and inspired, though able, was not re-

garded by his friends as a fair exponent of his powers, nor did it quite come up to the full expectation of the country. He was elected to fill a vacancy in the Court of Appeals established by the constitution which he aided in framing, and remained on the bench till his court was superseded by the present constitution. And, on the eve of the recent election of the judges of the Court of Appeals by the people, when his name was again brought forth under the most favorable auspices, quite unexpectedly to all, he suddenly deceased.

If I omitted a more formal notice of ALFRED HARRISON POWELL in another place, it was because he more properly belonged here; as he spoke at length on the basis question, and succeeded Gen. Baldwin on the floor. He had established a reputation in the House of Representatives, and was known in the commonwealth not only as a politician, but as a gentleman of pure character and of a high sense of honor. Although he belonged to the East, he ranged under the banners of the West; and, however strong, as the West undoubtedly was, in the number and prowess of her champions, there were many who regarded Powell as likely to render service in the common cause as great as any which would be rendered by his colleagues who stood more prominently than he did before the people. He had been a member of the House of Delegates as well as of the House of Representatives, and was, perhaps, the most thoroughly skilled of his political associates in the practice of deliberative bodies. A knowledge of parliamentary tactics is at all times an element of power, and, as in the Convention skill was arrayed against numbers, was of the first moment to the interests of the West. He had a good person; his address was at once frank and refined; and it is probable that, if the honor of the presiding office of the body had been awarded by the West to any of her advo-

cates on the score of individual fitness, Powell would have borne away the palm. Nor was the East insensible to his merit. He was more frequently called to the chair in committee than any other member; and his speech on the basis was looked for and listened to with corresponding interest. It was altogether a speech worthy of his reputation, and will show the caste of his mind as well as his style of debate; but, as he was indisposed when he spoke, it was not as effective in its delivery as it would otherwise have been; and a higher impression of his powers was received from his subsequent efforts. Few men appeared to have a stronger hold on life than his; but he survived the adjournment a few years only.

It was early in the debate on the basis that RICHARD MORRIS of Hanover made his speech. Not above the middle size, though not much beyond the prime of manhood nearly bald, with a face, if not handsome, animated and expressive, he advanced to the contest like a preux chevalier, who, having thrown aside for the moment his breastplate, and his sword, and his plumed helm, had descended to the arena of the council to advise those measures which he was ready to execute in the field. He had been trained in the House of Delegates, and was at home upon all State topics; and displayed at once that self-possession and vivacity in debate, which several speakers, his equals in intellect, failed to evince. His reputation as an orator and a debater may safely rest on the speech which he made in favor of the mixed basis. In his political sentiments he leaned in early life to the federal party, and was usually connected with that small but distinguished clique known as the tertium quids; and, as from his near residence to Richmond his influence was sensibly felt here, he may be classed with those politicians who succeeded in neutralizing the influence of Mr. Jefferson in the metropolis of his

native State. It was on the conclusion of his able and eloquent speech on the basis that Randolph made the playful remark which moved the mirth of the West as well as the East: "I see that the wise men still come from the East." He did not engage in any subsequent discussion that I now remember, and in less than three years after the adjournment of the body of which he was one of the ablest and most distinguished members, at an age hardly exceeding fifty-five, he died at his seat in Hanover.

The member who followed Morris in the debate on the basis and whose election to a seat in that body was a topic of remark at the time, from his unique position requires, though still living, a short notice. In Virginia, before and since the Revolution, a prejudice has existed in the public mind on the subject of an union of religious and political functions in the same person. In England the clerical character is indelible, and in this State no clergyman had appeared either in the State or Federal convention; and he was directly excluded from the General Assembly. It is true that Witherspoon was one of the most efficient members of the Continental Congress, and exerted a wholesome influence in settling in the articles of Confederation—the identical basis for which the East was then contending; and in our own State president Smith of Hampden Sidney, in the discussions of the day on the expediency of adopting the Federal constitution, had opposed Patrick Henry, who, in answer to Smith's pointed enquiry why, instead of abusing the constitution, he had not repaired to Philadelphia and aided the Convention with his advice when it might have been of some avail, replied with a significant look and gesture: "*Sir, I smelt a rat.*" And not long before the meeting of the convention, Edward Everett, who had filled the churches of Boston with crowds anxious to catch every syllable from his eloquent

lips, had thrown aside the gown, and had recently made his maiden speech in the House of Representatives. Still there was a strong distrust of theologians in Virginia, and it was feared that by the presence of a popular divine in the Convention the element of religion might be mixed up with topics sufficiently exciting in themselves. But the course of ALEXANDER CAMPBELL soon dispelled all such fears. He indeed belonged to a sect the most numerous in the Union—a sect, however, most devoted to religious freedom in its largest sense;—but, if it had been otherwise, of this powerful sect Campbell was a schismatic. There was no danger to religious freedom from him. He needed it more than any body else. With the doctrines of his church and with the constitution of the State he was equally at war. In his personal appearance, in his dress and manners, in his style of speaking, he was a man of the world; and it would not have been suspected that he was other than a layman, if in his speech on the basis he had not drawn his illustrations at length from the Jewish system, and sought to strike out George Mason's constitution with a view of inserting the book of Deuteronomy in its stead. He had a great fund of humor, and, observing the zeal with which the East pressed the antiquity of the constitution, he proved easily enough the superior age of his own system, and urged that the East on its own principle might without self-abasement lay George Mason at the feet of Moses. He was a fine scholar, and, with the younger members of the body who relished his amusing thrusts, his pleasant address and social feelings rendered him very acceptable. As a controvertist he had some great qualities; he was bold, subtle, indefatigable, and as insensible to attack as if he were sheathed in the hide of a rhinoceros. He made a successful rejoinder to Randolph, who had quoted in English the maxim of Lord Bacon: Time is a great

innovator; to which Campbell replied by quoting the entire maxim correctly in the original: Maximus innovator tempus; adding *quidni igitur tempus imitemur?* He was a native of Scotland, and, as he landed on our shores, he happened to take up a paper containing a recent message of Mr. Madison, which, he said, gave him the first impression of American genius. With the exception of Col. Bierne, he was, I think, the only foreign-born citizen in the body.

He was followed in the discussion by JOHN SCOTT, whose speech on the basis was an able and well-timed effort in favor of the East. It had not been his wont, to use his own expression, to sing hosannahs to the constitution; and his capital defence of the mixed basis came with redoubled power from one, who, while, like Joynes and Upshur, he favored important changes, was willing sooner to renounce them all than yield one tittle of his ground on that question. Without the slightest pretension to any grace of manner or style, with a voice harsh and forbidding, he was an animated and most impressive speaker. He was about the middle height. His face had none of that brightness which irradiated the countenance of Morris, who preceded him on the side of the East in the discussion, but seemed worn with disease, under the severe pressure of which he made a renunciation of all public office forever;—a renunciation, which his subsequent election to a judgeship, the duties of which he discharged for ten or fifteen years until the time of his death with acknowledged ability, compelled him to revoke. He was a member of the federal party, and in the debate on the judicial tenure he spoke with great force in opposition to Mr. Giles, between whom and himself there was a sharp personal collision.

Although in the contests of the Convention the lines of division were strictly drawn between the friends and op-

ponents of the old constitution,—now that those strifes are past, and most of the active spirits of that exciting time are no more, it may not be inappropriate to class two names together, which, though never on the same side on the perpetually recurring call of the roll, were bound by the chords of Christian affection, and were united in the support of all the religious and humane schemes which honored the age in which they lived—JAMES MERCER GARNETT and WILLIAM HARRISON FITZHUGH. Garnett was by many years the elder of the two, and may be said to have closed his political life twenty years before the assembling of the Convention, and before that of Fitzhugh had begun. He had been a member of the House of Delegates and was a member of the House of Representatives during the entire second term of Mr. Jefferson's administration ; and, though rarely engaged in prolonged debate, was an efficient coadjutor of the party at the head of which was Mr. Randolph, which opposed the policy of that statesman. Thenceforth he almost renounced public life, and devoted his time to agriculture, education and religion,—three great interests which then required all his fostering care. He was not far from sixty, but retained in his gait the elasticity and erectness of a young man. He did not make a formal speech during the session, but watched the progress of events with the strictest attention ; and some one present may remember how distinctly his sonorous voice was heard above all others at the call of the ayes and noes, and recognised at once. He was full of life, and delighted in society, of which his polished manners, his humor deepening at times into a caustic wit, and his large historical recollections, made him a brilliant ornament. If John Randolph excited the mirth of the Convention at the expense of Mr. Jefferson's “ mouldboards of the least possible resistance,” Garnett brought forth roars of laughter in private circles at Mr.

Madison's scheme of hitching the bison to a plough. It was in the social gatherings that the artillery of his political party was brought to bear with the most decided success; and many a young politician, who would have taken the alarm at an allusion to the embargo or the war, sunk under the raillery played against the philosopher and the farmer. His writings on agriculture and education have been long before the country, and, if they do not exhibit great attainments in any department of knowledge, reflect that homebred sense clothed in the simplest Anglo-Saxon garb, and that abiding love of his species, which were the conspicuous traits of his character.

The mind of Fitzhugh had probably received an earlier training, and was, perhaps, of a higher order. Even before he entered William and Mary he had studied the art of public speaking, and one of his surviving classmates yet speaks with rapture of his brilliant speech on the first occasion of his attending a society of that institution. He had long devoted himself to the cause of education and religion, and had gained honorable distinction a year or two before by his speech in the House of Delegates on a proposition to remodel the distribution of the interest of the Literary Fund on large and liberal principles. He was an early and steadfast friend of the Colonization society, and his controversy with a writer supposed to be Mr. Giles under the signature of Opimius in defence of that association attracted much attention at the time; and it is in his letters written on that occasion that some of the rich fruits of his genius may be found. His speech on the basis exhibited respectable powers, and was marked rather by that sound sense and truthfulness, guided by firmness of purpose, which constituted his character, and by his persuasive elocution, than by that subtle logic which was the order of the day. He was in the prime of life, of winning man-

ners, and was the pride and joy of every circle in which he moved. He probably never made an enemy. In Virginia, where few of our eminent men have been conspicuous in the offices of religion, a prejudice, perhaps a remnant of chivalry, still sticking to the skirts of the politician, who may sit at the card table or over the bottle without derogation from self respect or intellectual rank, leads him to connect weakness of intellect with a tender humanity and a high sense of religious duty. Fitzhugh, who, by the way, had nothing of the Norman about him but his fine proportions and the name, stood on the same platform on the score of intellectual accomplishments and wealth with the proudest of his fellows, and had a merit of his own. He superadded the glory of a Christian Statesman. In politics he embraced the doctrines of the federal school, and dearly did he love to sit at the feet of its living Gammel. Of the strictest temperance in all things, and in the full enjoyment of those blessings which embellish life and make it useful, a long and honored career seemed to expand before him; but, in the inscrutable will of Providence, he was destined to an early grave.

The name of yet another of the distinguished men who had not been abroad in any public capacity, but whose long and useful career at home, especially in the Senate of Virginia, was familiar to his countrymen, demands a grateful commemoration. Such was the massive strength of his intellect, so intimately were commingled in his character all the finest elements of beauty, moral worth, and a lofty patriotism;—so connected and endeared was he in the tenderest relations of life with so many persons on either side of that mighty Ridge which has too long reared its icy barrier between hearts which otherwise would have been, and ought ever to be, united in the bonds of the strongest affection,—that I tremble as I approach the name of CHAP-

MAN JOHNSON. In a former sketch allusion was made to a brilliant galaxy of genius which adorned the college of William and Mary at a particular era. The name of Johnson suggests the recollection of a youthful triumvirate who were likewise associates in that venerable institution, who also chose the bar as a field of fame, and who, having attained almost all the highest honors which their country could bestow, cherished in age the cordiality of earlier years. I need hardly add that I speak of Philip Pendleton Barbour, Benjamin Watkins Leigh, and Chapman Johnson.\* At the date of the Convention Barbour alone had been abroad, but all three had been bred in that school of the prophets, the House of Delegates under the old Constitution. Johnson was born in Louisa, and was, I believe, a son of the person of that name who has come down to us in an amusing caricature by the Marquis of Chastellux. When therefore he returned from Augusta to reside permanently in Richmond, it was a reclamation to which the East had an equitable title, and which it was proud to make. His position in the Convention was delicate and peculiar; for, like Stanard, he had received his appointment from the generous confidence of the friends of his early manhood. While he remained in the Senate as the representative of the Augusta district, so great was the general confidence in his integrity, he was regarded essentially an eastern man; and, although during the session of 1816 he had strenuously upheld the Convention bill, which was lost in the body of which he was a member by two votes only, yet he forthwith embraced the bill re-arranging the senatorial districts, and in a spirit of peace, and in opposi-

\* I have learned since the delivery of this discourse that Robert Stanard was at William and Mary during a part of the college course with the persons whose names are mentioned in the text. Why does not William and Mary publish a triennial catalogue?

tion to some of his colleagues of the West, secured its passage. Believing the representation of the West in the House of Delegates substantially fair, he was resolved, as the Senate had been reconstructed, to oppose any future efforts in favor of a Convention. Hence from that time he ranged on that question with a great majority of the people of Eastern Virginia, and gallantly sustained the celebrated Substitute which his friend Leigh proposed at a meeting of the citizens of Richmond instead of the report and resolutions in favor of a convention which had been offered and which were finally adopted. With these facts fresh in the public mind, and with the belief that, though elected by the people of Augusta, he was left free to pursue the dictates of his judgment, it is not at all a matter of surprize that the Eastern people generally expected him, if not to sustain their peculiar views, at least to occupy some middle ground on which both of the great parties might fairly stand. But his course in the legislative committee soon dispelled these expectations; and when it was known that he sustained the extreme measure of the West, there was much disappointment, and the suspicions which Mr. Randolph used with such effect, were, at a time of high excitement, freely expressed. But the subject admits of an easy and satisfactory explanation. It has been stated that he voted for the Convention bill of 1816, when his main reason for so doing was the inequality of the representation. When, however, he had succeeded in securing the passage of the bill re-arranging the senatorial districts on the basis of white population, he obtained all that he then desired. With the other parts of the constitution he was not disposed to quarrel. But the re-arrangement of 1816 was altogether a temporary measure; for, as the country had outgrown the previous arrangements, so it might be expected to outgrow that of the bill of 1816,

which, as it was based on the census of 1810, may be said to have borne on its shoulders the burden of six years as soon as it was born; but, believing that in 1829 that period had not yet arrived, he opposed a call for a Convention. Thus far consistency required him to go, but no farther. But when the question arose, not concerning a temporary re-arrangement of the Senate, but the establishment of a permanent basis of representation in the House of Delegates as well as in the Senate,—if consistency were called in, it would have sustained him in upholding the white basis in both houses, which was more than he contended for, as he was willing to concede a mixed basis for the Senate. Moreover, as no man is ready to sacrifice his honor without an equivalent, what had the West to bestow upon him? A seat in the General Assembly, a seat in the Council, the office of Governor or Judge, or even a seat in the Senate of the United States? Not one of these honors would he have accepted, had it been offered by the West, or the East, or both united. The reasons which brought him to Richmond would have kept him there. With all who knew the integrity of the man, such injurious suspicions weighed not a feather in the scale. Sir, if he were not guided in his conduct by a conviction of duty, then magnanimity and an exalted sense of honor are the mere bye-words of a vain philosophy. If we were permitted to look into the recesses of his great mind, it may be that the glorious vision of pouring oil upon that troubled sea, and of winning the reputation of a mediator among warring brethren, may have flitted before him. Of all the members of the body he was best qualified by position, experience, and weight of character, to perform such an office. He had frequently performed it in the Senate, and he might have hoped to perform it on a more solemn occasion. And, if the resolution offered by Tazewell, which regarded the ex-

isting constitution as a bill open to amendment, had been adopted, the scene might have presented itself. The adoption of that resolution would have been soothing to the feelings of the East. It would have shown that our brethren of the West believed that there was something in our institutions, which had borne the impress of two centuries, worth preserving. And, even if the basis of qualified voters, which Mr. Johnson was ready to propose, had been adopted, it is possible that a senate of fifty members on the federal basis, with a concurrent instead of a joint vote in all elections by the Assembly, would have satisfied a majority of Eastern men, who would have gained more real advantage by accepting such a scheme which, as it contained within itself the means of a future re-adjustment of the basis of representation, would have settled the public mind for half a century to come, than by adopting the arbitrary arrangement of 1830, which contained in its birth the seeds of its dissolution at no distant day. But no such policy prevailed. Every thing was to be torn from its foundations. And a state of feeling soon arose that bade defiance to all attempts at pacification.

His speech on the basis question, which consumed nearly three days in the delivery, which is reported with some degree of accuracy in the published debates, and which is one of the few speeches of his which are accessible by the general reader, was, as might well be expected, something more than an ordinary production. None but a person intimately conversant with the domestic policy of the State from the earliest period could have made it. While it presents an interesting view of our past legislation in illustration of his main topic, it preserves the prominent characteristics of his eloquence. Great courtesy, respect for the feelings of his opponents, and an unfeigned humility, which set off in bolder relief his great qualities, marked

all his efforts. In the course of his general argument he was sometimes led to dwell too long on incidental topics, and apply to the weaker that time and strength which would have been more wisely expended on the leading parts of his subject. Hence, although it must be distinctly admitted that a minor topic sometimes assumed from incidental circumstances a dignity which it might not now seem to deserve, and required an enlarged illustration, yet his speech on this occasion, though at times he was very great, as well as his speeches at the bar, lacked that strength and compression which were the forte of his compatriot Stanard, as they lacked that brilliancy which flashed upon you in the speeches of Leigh. His mode of speaking was unique. He began in a tone almost inaudible, and gradually rose, sometimes in the course of a single sentence, to the highest pitch of his voice. To those who listened with delight to the flowing tones of Morris, the lively elocution of Upshur, the musical fulness of Leigh, and the rich soprano of Randolph, the management of his voice was often something less than pleasing; and to strangers who heard him for the first time, it was almost startling; but to those who were familiar with his manner, this peculiarity was almost overlooked, and his real excellence was apparent. He was more disposed to be grave than witty or sarcastic; yet he once made a happy retort on Mr. Randolph who replied to some remark of his with wanton severity; "Sir," turning to Mr. Randolph whose shrivelled face and shrunken form gave point to his retort, "Sir, it needs no ghost to tell me that." It is singular that his face, with the peculiar turn of his head when he was speaking, resembled that of the bust of Demosthenes so nearly as to arrest intent attention. When he addressed a friend, a benign smile, which lighted up his features, told the lovely character of the man. He rarely took an active

part in federal politics, and I am not aware that, with the exception of the Adams Convention which was held in this city in 1827, the address of which to the people of Virginia was from his pen, and of the meeting which was also held in this city in 1834 on the subject of the removal of the depositories from the Bank of the United States, that he meddled with them at all in his latter years. He never filled any office abroad, but retained to the last the confidence of the General Assembly, which honored itself by committing to his hands the preparation of the proposed new code. It was a fortunate opportunity for such a man, whose fame was so purely Virginian, to follow the example of his "noble friend from Chesterfield," and interweave his own name indissolubly with the jurisprudence of his country; but, after repeated efforts, he was compelled by indisposition to decline the office; and, before the new code appeared from the younger and more vigorous hands to which it was committed, his gentle spirit had passed away. When the life and services of this excellent man shall be weighed in the balance of history,—come that day when it will—posterity will pronounce his reputation one of the purest and most precious gems in the moral diadem of his native commonwealth.

With the name of Johnson was associated in the public mind that of one not the least distinguished of the eloquent triumvirate heretofore mentioned, who was not only his classmate in college, his colleague in the General Assembly, his rival in the contests of the forum, and his compatriot in the political struggles of a long life, but the friend of his bosom:—BENJAMIN WATKINS LEIGH. There was such a community of fellowship, of genius, and of exalted worth between these eminent men, that the name of the one instantly brought to the lips the name of the other. Until the Convention assembled, they had always acted in

unison with each other ; but now they were not only to differ on the most exciting topic of the times, but to lead the columns of their respective forces. It was in the close quarters of the legislative committee, and not in the house, that the severest collisions occurred between them ; but the flame of early friendship, to the honor of human nature be it said, though it seemed, as may presently appear, during a season of excitement unparalleled in our history, at times to flicker, burned with undiminished warmth to the end of their honored lives.

As with Johnson, so it was with Leigh,—he was returned from a district which he had served in early life, but in which he did not reside. His brilliant career in the Assembly and at the bar, his honorable mission to Kentucky, the skill and taste, and withal the scrupulous fidelity with which he had prepared the code of 1819, and his burning patriotism on several memorable occasions, had added no common lustre to his name. But it was in the Convention of 1829-30 that his genius shone with more than its meridian splendor. Virginia had long cherished him as one of her sons most distinguished for the strength of his reasoning powers, the fervor of his eloquence, and the unsullied purity of his patriotism, and it was hardly anticipated that he would do more in his new sphere than sustain his great reputation. She was mistaken, and not Virginia alone. His extraordinary displays not only dazzled the eyes of his fellow-citizens, but created wonder and admiration throughout the Union. A learned professor of a Northern University observed to the person now addressing the chair, that an able jurist, himself illustrious for his talents and for the grace with which he wore the highest honors of his native state, and who had mingled with the most eminent Virginians in Congress, declared to him that, great as were the men Virginia had sent to the federal councils,

she had retained at home, as if incapable of choosing wisely, a statesman who far surpassed them all. However equivocal in one respect this compliment may appear, it was the opinion of a competent and an impartial judge, and showed the impression which Leigh had made upon superior minds abroad.

It will be remembered that the initiative was given to the business of the Convention by the appointment of four grand committees to which all the members of the body were assigned ; to one of these, the legislative, of which Mr. Madison was chairman, Mr. Leigh was appointed. Of this committee, the members of which were selected through the courtesy of the President by their colleagues of the Senatorial district as best qualified to maintain their interests on the greatest question likely to engage the deliberations of the body, it would be proper, if time allowed, to speak at length. It held its sessions in the Senate Chamber of that day, to which all flocked, although there were then sitting in the Capitol three other committees over which presided Judge Marshall, Governor Giles, and Mr. Taylor of Chesterfield. At the head of a long table, looking northward, sat Mr. Madison, while the other members, in seats originally taken by chance, but retained throughout the session, were ranged about it, with the exception of one member, who, as if to avoid even the appearance of aiding in the dissection of a friend in whom life was not extinct, and whom he still indulged the hope of rescuing from the hands which were dabbling in its blood, sat apart in the northwest corner of the chamber, his eyes almost constantly fixed on a map of Virginia suspended near him, and seeming seldom to stray from its eastern portion. I need not say to the thousands who day after day watched his slightest motion, that I allude to the orator of Roanoke, who, long the marvel of his countrymen, had never

before filled an office in the commonwealth, and was hitherto seen in the metropolis in passing only. Rarely was so great a number of eminent men to be seen in so small a compass. Besides the venerable Madison, who, as was justly said, was not only at the head of that committee but of the Convention, and was the patriarch of the Union, and Mr. Randolph, there was Tazewell; whose noble head and flowing locks a Powers or a Galt would have selected as his choicest model of Milton's human face divine, and whose overshadowing reputation was then at its zenith; Johnson, of whom I have just spoken; Mercer, a veteran in public life, long known in the Assembly and in the House of Representatives, in both of which bodies he held the front rank; reputed to be a foeman worthy of the steel of Leigh with whom ere this he had grappled full often, and directly in front of whom he now sat; his mild expression and graceful appearance typifying, in some measure, his chaste and fascinating eloquence; Doddridge, the particular champion of the West, of whom I have already spoken, watching with intense interest every movement of the master-spirits of the East who were clustering about him; Tyler, already honored with the highest offices which the state could bestow, and whose elevation to the Presidency of the United States has made his person and mind familiar to all; Mason of Southampton, then in the perfection of manly beauty; one of the rising statesmen of the day, and, his career in the state councils yet unfinished, destined not only to [a seat in Congress and on the federal bench, but to preside at a glorious epoch over one of the most important departments of the federal government, and whose recent appointment to the French Mission has met with universal acceptance; Green, the successor of Roane on the bench of the Court of Appeals, whose name will go down to posterity in connexion with one of the

most memorable debates on record, but whose modest appearance gave no indication of the high judicial merit generally accorded him ; Cooke, thin in stature, the full expression of a good face neutralized by green glasses ; unknown in federal politics, and as yet in state, except as the author of a violent pamphlet in favor of the West which was distributed among the members of the Assembly at its last session ; his mind thoroughly imbued with the logic of the schools, and feeding on abstractions as its daily bread ; versed in the minute history of the state, and famous for the provoking pertinacity with which he worried an opponent, a dog-eared *Hening* in his hand ; Joynes, large and grave, in goggles of portentous size, unknown in public life, but fitted for the highest civil employments, and as familiar with our finances as if they were the playthings of his childhood ; whose figures of arithmetic were the sworn foes of all figures of speech ; Summers, a judge of the General Court, marked by great amenity of manners ; who was supposed to hold divided empire with Doddridge over the affections of the extreme West ; Roane, next to Madison, venerable in years ; whose public life dated back to the days of Washington ; Bierne, the muscles of whose honest face were anon convulsively twitched to sharpen a defective sense of hearing, which, however, did not prevent an active career in the Assembly and in Congress ; whose long and successful devotion to the pursuits of a merchant and a planter never obliterated a taste for the classic studies which beguiled his earlier years ; Broadnax, whose tall and graceful person, draped in black, was conspicuous even in a sitting posture ; more prominent at the bar than in public life ; Pleasants, who had been a member of the House of Delegates in '98-'99, and '99-1800, and subsequently its Clerk, a member of the House of Representatives and of the Senate, and Governor of the State,

and in every sphere, by the blandness of his manners, his unsullied integrity, and his attractive eloquence, had won the esteem of his countrymen; Pendleton, who bore not only the name but the majestic form of that illustrious man, who presided in the convention of 1788, whose impress is seen over our whole history, and who in extreme age had closed his still active career almost within the shadow of the building in which his namesake was now sitting; and others whom I pass over in this hurried sketch, but who were entitled, if it were for their position on that committee only, to high consideration.

In such a body, the elite, I had almost said, of the Convention, the Virginian who was acquainted with the history of the state, and who loved eloquence, intuitively singled out Watkins Leigh; for his countenance, which must have been handsome in youth, still retained much of its freshness, and but that, with the exception of the glossy black hair that covered his temples, he was bald, he would have readily passed for a much younger man than he really was. He had a good forehead; and his dark eyes, when he was excited, seem to sparkle. His voice was sweet, and its volume ample enough for his style of address. His gestures were few and graceful, and mainly, as if in the act of demonstrating a proposition, with his right hand, which was small enough to have won the favor of Lord Byron or his friend Ali Pacha, and which, with his general form and especially his baldness, he inherited from the maternal side of his house. Like Byron, he was lame, from an accident however, but, such was the elegance of his manners, the defect, if it did not heighten, did not impair the dignity of his demeanor. It is remarkable that his colleagues Giles and Jones were also lame;—a fact that gave birth to a jest among the younger members in strong contrast in one sense with the true state of the case, that the

Chesterfield district had sent the lamest delegation to the body.

The ball in committee was barely in motion, when Mr. Leigh took the lead among the eastern members, and gallantly did he keep it until the final adjournment. Some of the finest specimens of his eloquence might have been selected from his unpremeditated outbursts around that council board ; but I regret to add, that, unless in the slight memoranda made at the time by the person addressing the chair, they are lost forever. He ran over the gamut of parliamentary debate ; and argument, wit, sarcasm, pathos, were perpetually at his service. He never missed his mark ; and once when he assailed with irresistible humor a position of Johnson's, that gentleman sharply observed that he had appealed to the wisdom, not the wit of the committee. There was one occasion in committee, when the various qualities of Mr. Leigh's eloquence were exhibited with great brilliancy and effect. Judge Green had offered a proposition in favor of the mixed basis, and Leigh had sustained it with an animated speech, which was replied to by Mercer and Johnson. To these Judge Green replied but in a tone so low as not to be distinctly heard. Mr. Cooke also opposed the proposition in a very able speech in which he detailed for the first time his elaborate abstractions on the subject of government. The array was very formidable to any speaker, but never did Mr. Leigh acquit himself with greater eclat. He began by saying that the gentleman from Loudoun (Mercer) had misapprehended or misrepresented him. He did not say that representation was apportioned to taxation under the articles of confederation. He said that when the question arose in framing those articles the North contended that the capitation tax should bear equally upon black and white, bond and free, which the South objected to ; and that the ques-

tion was settled at last in 1781 on the three-fifths' principle. He then stated that this was an argument urged for engraving the principle in the present federal constitution, and by the writers of the Federalist for its adoption by the people. To prove his statement he referred to the 54th number of the Federalist (written by Mr. Madison, as that gentleman afterwards avowed.) He then proceeded to argue that no government was safe that did not protect property; that the definition of property was that the substance of the possessor was *his* to retain or dispose of as *he* thought proper, and demonstrated that this could not be the case in a government in which the majority had not an amount of property equal to that possessed by the minority. To show his distrust of such a government he drew an illustration from the case of his brother. I have, he said, a brother whom I dearly love, and in whose integrity I repose unlimited faith. But do you imagine that I would deliver even into his hands while I had life in my body, and while my wife and children look up to me for support, all my estate, or, what is tantamount, assent to give him the power of leaving me penniless in the world? No, sir, I would not do it. None but a simpleton would do it. I mean no personal allusion; but I say none but a simpleton would assent to such a government; none but simpletons ever assented to such; and the law that acted on this principle acted only on simpletons, natural idiots, mutes, and the whole generation of *non-compos* people. (Here a loud and convulsive laugh burst from the committee and from the crowd in the lobby. Mr. Madison elongated his upper lip, and assumed a serious air that was irresistibly comic. Randolph, who in the isolated position I have described appeared wholly inattentive to what was passing, but was in fact the closest observer in the room, seemed for the first time since the body met evidently amused, while the

opponents of Mr. Leigh showed that they felt the force of his logic and the play of his wit.) He continued: The gentleman from Frederic (Cooke) exhorted us to disregard sectional interests and act like statesmen; that is, we must disregard *local* interests. Sir, I assure that gentleman that I, for one, will not disregard the interests of my constituents in Chesterfield. I will never consent—never—while they pay one hundred cents and his constituents fifty seven only, to deliver them over to his tender mercies. I choose rather (looking closely at Cooke) to follow the example of the gentleman than his precept. (A laugh) As to the refined abstractions of that gentleman, he would not banter them with him now. The gentleman from Loudoun (Mercer) has proposed guarantees for our protection. I have no confidence in guarantees—none whatever; and least of all do I believe they would be observed by gentlemen who construed the plainest, simplest words in the world opposite to their plain and palpable meaning. (An allusion to Mr. Mercer's federal politics. Another laugh from the committee and from the lobby.) The gentleman from Augusta (Johnson) flatters us with the belief, that, if we are soft enough to adopt the white basis, the East would still preponderate in the legislature from the superior education of her sons. I deny it altogether; I deny that any man has been half-educated in Virginia since the Revolution, (a laugh), and, as to his guarantees, I have no confidence in them where property is concerned, any more than I have (to use a phrase not "of strict rhetorical propriety") in that high obligation higher than the constitution itself which has recently been the theme of public explanation. (An allusion to Mr. Johnson's defence in the address of the Anti-Jackson Convention of a famous expression of Mr. Adams.)

Far be it from me to intimate that I have made a toler-

able sketch of the speech itself ; but I am disposed to think that it may to a certain extent support the opinion that there was a finer field for the display of brilliant powers of debate in the close quarters of the legislative committee than in the Convention itself, where from the excessive length of a speech which occupied several days, the scene became rather a contest of dissertations, especially on the basis question, than a field of legitimate debate. What forcibly struck the observer of Mr. Leigh's course in committee was his readiness in discussion. He was never taken by surprise ; and when some unexpected movement, as was frequently the case, changed the aspect of affairs, he displayed, what great experience and ability often fail to do, that self-possession, that two-o'clock-in-the-morning courage, which Napoleon ascribed to Massena. The writers on the theory of government he had studied in early life, and retained his knowledge ; and when Mercer spoke of Locke's reply, instead of Sidney's, to Sir Robert Filmer, a glance of Leigh's eye told that the speaker had missed his mark. But it is time the committee should rise. As I recall those scenes, I seem to see their living forms fresh before me. The tones of their eloquent voices yet linger on my ear, and I can almost feel the stifled breath of the crowd that thronged the lobby and encroached on the floor ; and in another moment I appear to move among the graves of the departed. When I remember the social converse of those eminent men, which it was my privilege to enjoy, and reflect that it seems but yesterday I saw them about that council-board or heard the voice of wisdom from their lips, I shrink from the havoc which death has made in their ranks. Out of that single committee Madison, Randolph, Doddridge, Broadnax, Bierne, Pleasants, Roane, Summers, Green, Chapman, Taliaferro, and Campbell of Bedford, have finished their course on

earth, and the grave has but lately closed over the gallant forms of Johnson and Leigh.

It was, however, on the floor of the Convention itself, that Mr. Leigh made those displays which attracted so much of the public attention toward him. The debates in the legislative committee, pungent as they were, were but the skirmishes that preceded the general engagement, and that engagement was the longest and most animated that was then known in our history. It has been stated, that, as soon as the resolution of the committee basing representation in the House of Delegates on white population exclusively was called up, Judge Green moved to amend it in favor of the mixed basis;—Upshur, as before observed, opened the debate in splendid style, and was followed by speakers from East and West successively, who displayed a thorough knowledge of the subject and great powers of eloquence. But it was left for Mr. Leigh to pronounce a speech which was a map of the whole subject, which discussed principles, and refuted objections to the existing constitution unanswerably at least in the opinions of its friends, and which impressed the large audience that eagerly crowded to the hall during the two days of its delivery with a degree of admiration rarely excited by forensic efforts. Nor was this his only great speech; for he was the warder on the watch-tower of the East; and no topic, great or small, urged against the constitution or the East, but was met by him and almost invariably with triumphant success. His knowledge of the past history of the state, even of a local or temporary kind, was wonderful and he was equally at home in discussing the alledged misconduct of the Council in allowing a few pounds of damaged gunpowder to be used for a salute on some public occasion, and what he supposed to be the true nature of Bacon's rebellion. His style of speaking was impressive.

His voice, as before observed, was music itself, and his eloquence seemed at times to gush from his lips almost without articulation, and to come directly from the heart; for, what added much to his weight of character, he was serious in his purposes, and he believed himself struggling in defence of all that in his opinion rendered Virginia dear in the estimation of others and in his own. He said to a friend that in early life he studied Burke, but that in his latter years he adopted Swift as his model; and the union of the styles of these two writers may give some notion of his own; for, though his severe logic never would have allowed him to indulge in the diffusive eloquence of Burke, his imagination ever burned brightly, and he was especially fond of Anglo-Saxon words, as he was, indeed, of the Anglo-Saxons themselves. The substitute offered at the Richmond meeting heretofore alluded to, is a fair specimen of his writing on a political subject, and is a noble commentary upon the old constitution, while his Christopher Quandary affords a graceful exhibition of his mode of writing on lighter subjects. While Mercer tripped in his allusion to Sidney, and was unfortunate in his quotation from Ovid, Leigh, though he quoted frequently, and sometimes at length, never went astray. The debates published by Mr. Ritchie will afford posterity a fair impression of his mode of argument and his topics; but much was in his manner and in the occasion, which, however impressive at the time, can never be recalled. I have spoken of his prominent position as the great leader of the East; but it ought to be said, that his authority extended to the minutest details of forms. I remember when the President, the late Judge Barbour, himself thoroughly versed in the logic of parliaments and in all their forms, was about to sign the enrolled bill of the new constitution, which was placed on the Clerk's table before him, some doubts arising

in his mind about the proper mode of signing it, which those standing near him were anxious to remove, he observed: No, gentlemen; let us wait till Leigh comes; he knows more about these things than any of us.

To trace the course of Mr. Leigh through a session of three months and a half would require a volume; but, such were his extraordinary powers, that he retained his influence undiminished to the last. This is, indeed, no common praise. It is true that the distinguished talents of the East never shone with greater lustre than in the various discussions that arose in constructing the fundamental law; yet the toil and the responsibility mainly devolved on him. No project, no scheme, and they came in legions from East and West, but what was critically analysed by him, and he was as remarkable for his diligence in examining the details of the most complicated propositions as he was for the closeness of his reasoning and the elegance of his declamation. To attain and preserve such an ascendancy in such a body was a glorious achievement. Long were the eyes of the commonwealth fixed steadily upon him, and he well knew that not a word fell from his lips unwatched or unheeded. Had his life closed with the adjournment of the Convention, his apotheosis would have been without a parallel in our history. The East would have clothed herself in mourning, and been bathed in tears. Eloquence and poesy would have blended their chaplets on his insensate brow. The statue, radiant as the living original, would have leapt from the rock to memorialise the gratitude of his country, and to present to distant times the outward type of its benefactor. But he lived—lived to render yet farther and most valuable service to the whole people, and alas! to see a change come over them, and, I fear, to feel it keenly.

It was from the peculiar caste of his character that any

faltering of the public regard toward him would be sensibly felt. As a patriot of enlarged views, perhaps, rather than as a politician, he had always enjoyed the confidence of the General Assembly, and it was a singular coincidence in his life that the only missions dispatched by Virginia since the adoption of the federal constitution to her sister states—the one to Kentucky, the other, at a long subsequent date, to South Carolina,—were unanimously conferred upon him, and that it was his good fortune to discharge them both with unqualified applause. He loved Virginia with a passion as pure and fervent as was ever cherished in a human bosom, and regarded her as the impersonation of all that was good and beautiful. With many men patriotism is a profession, at most a principle; but with him it was a passion; and such was its intensity, that I verily believe he loved the vices as well as the virtues of his idol, and would have fought as readily in defence of her prejudices as of her principles. There was no alloy in his love of country. I may add, what gave additional elevation to the platform on which he stood in the Convention was, not only the purity of his private life, his distinguished services, and his professional reputation, but the general belief that he would not descend from his position to assume office however exalted, or to curry favor for future honors. None saw more clearly than he did the future predominance of the “backwoods vote,” as the Western vote was ominously termed by Mr. Johnson, and he knew the effect proximate and remote of every word that he uttered; but his mettle was such that the danger of any duty was a propelling motive to its execution. He was quick in temper, and his chivalry prompted him to meet an opponent with the weapon of his choice, but he was not inexorable. When he had stricken his foe, his noble nature would have recoiled from the use of the tomahawk and the

scalping knife. Like all truly great men, he was easy of approach, and, although it was impossible not to feel in such a presence, it was plain he sought no adventitious means of heightening respect or inspiring awe, for he was, as much as any man living, above all the tricks which little men use to bolster a reputation ready to perish with the passing year. He well knew that his reputation, if it were worth having, would take care of itself. His heart was sensible to all the gentle emotions; he dearly loved his friends, and he avowed in debate with a candor that softened the rancor of the sentiment, that he was too apt to hate his enemies.

He may be said to have leaned to a past age more than became so great a mind. Not that he did not bring his fine faculties to bear wisely and promptly on current topics; but his heart seemed to be with by-gone times. Like those speakers in the British Parliament, who, overlooking the present, perpetually recur to a period when their constitution so called existed in all its purity—a period the wit of man has never yet ascertained—Mr. Leigh dwelt on the glory of Virginia before the Revolution, and seemed to cherish the prejudices of the old cavalier as warmly as if he had lived in past times and had just landed on our shores a fugitive from Marston Moor or the fatal field of Worcester with a Cromwellian flea in his ear. It would have been a choice intellectual treat, could one have heard him under the full excitement of debate overhaul Carlyle's book on Cromwell, and discourse on the modern mode of making new saints out of old sinners. He was no fervid believer in human progress, and one would infer from the remark heretofore quoted about education, and which reflected his prejudices, that the country had rather retrograded than otherwise in knowledge since the Revolution, while the opposite opinion is unquestionably true. The

colonists must have been educated, if at all, abroad or at home. If abroad, where were those wholly educated men in the Revolution? Who was Washington, Henry, Mason, Wythe, Pendleton, Jefferson, Madison? men who were the cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night through that perilous struggle? Men who had never left their native land. And Richard Henry Lee was more indebted to his own application in the colony for the development of his powers than to a short residence at a provincial school in Yorkshire. And if the Colonists were educated at home, what other public institution did they possess than William and Mary? and wherein was that superior to the same William and Mary under Madison, Empie, or Dew, Washington College under Graham, Baxter, Marshall, or Ruffner, Hampden Sidney under the Smiths, Alexander, Hoge, Cushing, or Maxwell, Randolph Macon under Olin, Doggett or Smith, or the University from its establishment to the present day? Where are the evidences of this high intellectual culture? Where are the books, tracts, speeches, poems, of the ante-revolutionary epoch? It is remarkable that Mr. Jefferson, who sought to furnish a list of the literary works of the colony, when he had enumerated Beverly and Stith, overlooking, by the way, that pearl of our early literature, the translation of Ovid by Sandys, could only produce a pamphlet by Col. Bland; and it is probable that the colony of Liberia has published more newspapers since its establishment than were published in Virginia from the settlement at Jamestown to the passage of the resolutions against the stamp act. While it is improper to assent to the unmixed praises of the past, it would also be unwise to overlook the idiosyncrasy of those who indulge the mood. Such opinions are in some degree conservative of what is valuable as well as what is worthless, and exercise an influence on affairs not to be despised;

yet it is questionable whether they flourish most in minds of the highest order. Wo unto philosophy, and progress, and the welfare of the human race, if it were otherwise ; and honored, forever honored be the names of Bacon, Locke, and Jefferson.

When allusion was made to the mortification Mr. Leigh might have felt by the action of the General Assembly, to pass over federal politics, I referred to the loss of his election as a judge of the Court of Appeals. The East might have conferred that appointment as a crowning honor on the man who had proved himself her boldest defender in her darkest hour, and was confessedly the first lawyer in her realm, but she virtually gave it to another. The time may not be distant when the great battle may be renewed once more ; and, when the clouds of the coming tempest are closing round her, she will remember to whom she owed so much on a similar occasion, and will bitterly regret her ingratitude ; and then she will shed the grateful but unavailing tear on the grave of Leigh. And if, hereafter, the Court of Appeals, like the French Academy, shall gather the busts of the distinguished jurists who have sat upon its bench to adorn its hall, and should the image of Leigh appear within those precincts where his living presence ought to have been felt, the proudest judge that ever sat on that bench may well inscribe on the lifeless marble what Saurin wrote on the bust of Moliere : Nothing was wanting to his glory, *he* was wanting to ours.

It is time that I draw to a close. And, although I have not spoken, unless incidentally, of the living, I must pass over the names of Bayly and Henderson, Coalter and McCoy, Jones and Wilson, Nicholas and Naylor, Pleasants and Summers, Trezvant, Venable, and others who participated in the debates, and whose lips are now sealed in death. Nor have these alone fallen. Twenty-four years

form no inconsiderable proportion of the whole term of human life. In that interval I have more than doubled my own years. Those members, then in the first flower of manhood, whose brows have since borne or bear your greenest laurels, are now treading the brink of old age. Of the ninety six members whose names were reported to the house from the committee of elections thirty seven only survive. Dade and Read did not live to take their seats in the body, nor did Watson ever appear. Mennis was the first of the qualified members who met the King of Terrors. He grew ill, resigned his seat, and went home to die. Macrae died immediately after the adjournment, and before the close of the year Giles was no more. Monroe survived the adjournment a year and a half, and died at the residence of his son-in-law in the city of New York on the most memorable day in our annals. Marshall, who had endured an excruciating disease at intervals for some years, died five years after in the city of Philadelphia, whither he had gone for medical assistance, but was fortunately spared the agony of learning the death of his son Thomas, also a member of the Convention, who was struck by a falling chimney as he was passing through the city of Baltimore to visit his dying father, and instantly killed. Randolph survived three years, and in the city of Philadelphia, where his political career had begun thirty four years before, far from those patrimonial trees which now cast their shadows over his grave, breathed his last. Madison outlived his two distinguished compeers, and died six years after the adjournment in his classic home. There was no watcher by the bed side of the lamented Barbour. He had retired in his usual but always delicate health the night before his death to his room in a boarding-house in Washington, and when he did not appear at the breakfast table in the morning, his associate judges, who were then

holding their court in that city, and who lodged in the same house, hastened to his chamber to behold the mortal remains only of their beloved colleague. Doddridge died also in Washington. Upshur perished by the terrible explosion of the Princeton, when Virginia wept the fate of more than one of her distinguished sons. Trezvant died on the banks of the distant Mississippi. The ashes of the gallant Taylor of Norfolk repose not far from the spot where the remains of his brave soldiers, who fell by the hand of disease, were deposited, and beneath the turf over which he had marshalled the battalions of his countrymen at the most trying period of the last war with Great Britain. Venable, the fragrance of whose memory will ever be fresh on the banks of his beloved Appomattox, died instantly as he was walking through his fields. Leigh and Johnson died within a year of each other in this city. Stanard fell, as it were, on the field of his fame. He had heard the argument of an important case in the Court of Appeals, and retired to his study to prepare his opinion, which, drawn with all his eminent skill, he had nearly concluded, when, as he drew toward its close, the letters seemed to be indistinctly formed, the words were slightly confused, and presently the pen is seen to stray from its course in the unfinished line, as the angel of death suddenly summoned him to that higher court before which the glories of earth are as the shadows that pass away.\* And within the past year, Samuel Taylor died from a fall at the Danville depot in this city, and Taliaferro has also departed at an advanced age. Of these, Madison, Marshall, Monroe, Venable, and Taliaferro, alone attained the three score years and ten of the Psalmist.

\* The case was *Yerby and wife vs. Lynch*, 3rd Grattan, 517, where the opinion of Judge Stanard as far as completed may be found.

In regarding the mortality of the members, it would seem at first sight to exceed that of the federal convention of 1788 in a remarkable degree. The federal convention, as gathered from the vote on the ratification of the constitution, consisted of one hundred and sixty eight members, and in 1829, when our Convention assembled, a space of forty one years, there were five survivors: Mr. Madison, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Monroe, Judge Stuart of Augusta, and James Johnson of Isle of Wight. This would give an annual average of about four deaths in forty one years. The Convention of 1829 consisted of ninety six members originally elected to the body, and approached nearer one-half than two-thirds of the members of the former body. Yet in twenty-four years, out of that number fifty nine have died, or considerably over one-half, at a rate exceeding two each year since the adjournment; and when the relative numbers of both bodies are regarded, the mortality of the convention of 1829-30 would seem nearly double that of the Convention of 1788. On the other hand, if the life of the Convention of 1788 is to be measured by the life of the latest survivor, a different result will follow. James Johnson, the last survivor, died at his residence in Isle of Wight in 1845 at the age of ninety nine years; and thus a period of fifty seven years passed before the entire extinction of the members of that body;—which would make an annual average of two deaths only. If the last test, which seems to be the true one, be adopted, it will be many years, I trust, before the relative mortality of the two bodies can be determined. The Convention of 1776, that framed the constitution which our convention was called to revise, consisted of about one hundred and fifty members, and became extinct in the death of Mr. Madison in 1836; a period of sixty years, which would give an annual aver-

age of two and a half per cent. of deaths in that interval.\* It must be admitted, however, that the data necessary to form a correct conclusion on such subjects are so comprehensive and difficult to ascertain, that all inferences drawn from them are apt to be more curious than just.

It was on the fifteenth day of January, 1830, that the convention, which then held its sessions in the Baptist church below the Monumental, met for the last time. The enrolled bill of the constitution was signed by the president, when, after the transaction of some business strictly official, Mr. Randolph rose to offer a resolution in honor of the president (who had called Mr. Stanard to the chair) and spoke with a pathos in delightful unison with the occasion ; and when the president resumed the chair, and, before pronouncing the final adjournment, addressed the body with a glow and grace that seemed beyond the reach of his peculiar powers, many a tear was seen to fall from eyes unused to the melting mood. The tide of party ran strong and full during a session of more than three months, and every one in and out of the convention felt more or less the intensity of the excitement. But the time was come, when old and young, friends and enemies, were about to part to meet no more. No eye could have discovered the cloud of death that hung black above them ; for none thought of the young and vigorous so soon to fall ; but every eye was fixed on a few old men of exalted worth who would soon leave us forever ; and when the body ad-

\* In the journal of the Convention of 1776 the list of members given is altogether incomplete ; and, although the complement of the body may be ascertained elsewhere, it cannot be known from the journal, as the ayes and noes were not called during the session. In the convention of 1788, the ayes and noes were called three times only ; while in the convention of 1829-30, they were called so frequently after the committees had reported, that it is impossible to open the journal without seeing them, and they probably make up half of its bulk.

journed, all pressed to shake by the hand for the last time these venerable men of the past age. When the president concluded his address, he declared the final adjournment, and the convention of 1829-30 became among the things that were. And, although the structure of their hands has been re-modeled by those for whom it was reared, and most of those master-builders in the science of constitutional architecture, as they were termed by the president, have passed away, I trust that the office of pronouncing their names on the ear of the busy world—an office which a sincerely wish had been consigned to more competent hands—may not be without its use in stimulating the youth of Virginia to cherish the memory of their wisdom and worth, and emulate the glory which they have bequeathed them.

## A P P E N D I X.

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*A list of the Members of the Virginia Convention of 1829-30, reported October 9, by the Committee of Privileges and Elections.*

From the district composed of the counties of Amelia, Chesterfield, Cumberland, Nottoway, Powhatan, and the Town of Petersburg.

John W. Jones,*	Samuel Taylor,*
Benjamin W. Leigh,*	William B. Giles,*

From the district composed of the counties of Brunswick, Dinwiddie, Lunenburg, and Mecklenburg.

William H. Broadnax,*	Mark Alexander,
George C. Dromgoole,*	William O. Goode.

From the district composed of the counties of Charles City, Elizabeth City, James City, Henrico, New Kent, Warwick, York, and the cities of Richmond and Williamsburg.

John Marshall,*	Philip N. Nicholas,*
John Tyler,	John B. Clopton,

From the district composed of the counties of Shenandoah and Rockingham.

William Anderson,	Peachy Harrison,*
Samuel Coffman,	Jacob D. Williamson.

From the district composed of the counties of Augusta, Rockbridge, and Pendleton.

Briscoe G. Baldwin,*	William McCoy,*
Chapman Johnson,*	Samuel McD. Moore.

From the district composed of the counties of Monroe, Greenbrier, Bath, Botetourt, Alleghany, Pocahontas and Nicholas.

Andrew Beirne,*	Fleming B. Miller,
William Smith,	John Baxter.

From the district composed of the counties of Sussex, Surry, Southampton, Isle of Wight, Prince George and Greensville.

John Y. Mason,	Augustine Claiborne,*
James Trezvant,*	John Urquhart.*

From the district composed of the counties of Charlotte, Halifax, and Prince Edward.

John Randolph,*	Richard Logan,
William Leigh,	Richard N. Venable.*

From the district composed of the counties of Spotsylvania, Louisa, Orange and Madison.

James Madison,*	David Watson,*
Philip P. Barbour,*	Robert Stanard.*

From the district composed of the counties of Loudoun and Fairfax.

James Monroe,*	William H. Fitzhugh,*
Charles F. Mercer,	Richard H. Henderson.*

From the district composed of the counties of Frederic and Jefferson.

John R. Cooke,	Hierome L. Opie,*
Alfred H. Powell,*	Thomas Griggs, Jr.

From the district composed of the counties of Hampshire, Hardy, Berkeley, and Morgan.

William Naylor,*	Elisha Boyd,*
William Donaldson,*	Philip C. Pendleton.

From the district composed of the counties of Washington, Lee, Scott, Russell, and Tazewell.

John B. George,	Edward Campbell,*
Andrew McMillan,*	William Byars.

From the district composed of the counties of King William, King and Queen, Essex, Caroline, and Hanover.

John Roane,*	Richard Morris,*
William P. Taylor,	James M. Garnett.*

\* Dead.

From the district composed of the Counties of Wythe, Montgomery, Grayson, and Giles.

Gordon Cloyd,*	John P. Mathews,*
Henley Chapman,*	William Oglesby.*

From the district composed of the counties of Kanawha, Mason, Cabell, Randolph, Harrison, Lewis, Wood, and Logan.

Edwin S. Duncan,	Lewis Summers,*
John Laidley,	Adam See.*

From the district composed of the counties of Ohio, Tyler, Brooke, Monongalia and Preston.

Charles S. Morgan,	Alexander Campbell,
Philip Doddridge,*	Eugenius M. Wilson.*

From the district composed of the counties of Fauquier and Culpeper.

John S. Barbour,	John Macrae,*
John Scott,*	John W. Green.*

From the district composed of the counties of Norfolk, Princess Anne, Nansemond, and the borough of Norfolk.

Littleton W. Tazewell,	Robert B. Taylor,*
Joseph Prentis,*	George Loyall.

From the district composed of the counties of Campbell, Buckingham, and Bedford.

William Campbell,*	Callohill Mennis,*
Samuel Clayton,*	James Saunders.

From the district composed of the counties of Franklin, Patrick, Henry, and Pittsylvania.

George Townes,	Joseph Martin,*
Benj. W. S. Cabell,	Archibald Stuart.

From the district composed of the counties of Albemarle, Amherst, Nelson, Fluvanna, and Goochland.

James Pleasants,*	Lucas P. Thompson,
William F. Gordon,	Thomas Massie, Jr.

\* Dead.

From the district composed of the counties of King George, Westmoreland, Lancaster, Northumberland, Richmond, Stafford and Prince William.

W. A. G. Dade,*	John Taliaferro,*
Ellyson Currie,*	Fleming Bates.*

From the district composed of the counties of Mathews, Middlesex, Accomac, Northampton, and Gloucester.

Thomas R. Joynes,	Calvin H. Read,*
Thomas M. Bayly,*	Abel P. Upshur.*

*A List of the Members who Voted on the Final Adoption of the Constitution.*

The names of the gentlemen who voted in the affirmative, are:  
Messrs. P. P. Barbour,\* Pres't. Messrs. James M. Garnett,\*

John W. Jones,*	John S. Barbour,
B. W. Leigh,*	John Scott,*
Samuel Taylor,*	John W. Green,*
William B. Giles,*	Thomas Marshall,*
William H. Broadnax,*	Littleton W. Tazewell,
George C. Dromgoole,*	George Loyall,
Mark Alexander,	Joseph Prentis,*
William O. Goode,	Hugh B. Grigsby.
John Marshall,*	William Campbell,*
John Tyler,	Samuel Branch,*
Philip N. Nicholas,*	George Townes,
John B. Clopton,	Benj. W. S. Cabell,
John Y. Mason,	Joseph Martin.*
James Trezvant,*	Archibald Stuart, Jr.,
Augustine Claiborne,*	James Pleasants,*
John Urquhart,*	William F. Gordon,
John Randolph,*	Lucas P. Thompson,
William Leigh,	Thomas Massie, Jr.,
Richard Logan,	Fleming Bates,*
Richard N. Venable,*	Augustine Neale,
James Madison,*	Alex. F. Rose,*
Waller Holladay,*	John Coalter,*

\* Dead.

Richard H. Henderson,*	Thomas R. Joynes,
John R. Cooke,	Thomas M. Bayly,*
John Roane,*	Abel P. Upshur,*
William P. Taylor,	William K. Perrin,—55.
Richard Morris,*	

And the names of the gentlemen who voted in the negative, are:

Messrs. William Anderson,	Messrs. S. M'D. Moore,
Samuel Coffman,	Andrew Beirne,*
Peachy Harrison,*	William Smith,
Jacob D. Williamson,	Fleming B. Miller,
Briscoe G. Baldwin,*	John Baxter,
Chapman Johnson,*	Robert Stanard,*
William McCoy,*	Charles F. Mercer,
William H. Fitzhugh,*	Gordon Cloyd,*
Joshua Osborne,	Henley Chapman,*
Alfred H. Powell,*	John P. Mathews,*
Thomas Griggs, Jr.,	William Oglesby,*
James M. Mason,	Edwin S. Duncan,
William Naylor,*	John Laidley,
William Donaldson,*	Lewis Summers,*
Elisha Boyd,*	Adam See,*
Philip C. Pendleton,	Charles S. Morgan,
John B. George,	Alexander Campbell,
Andrew McMillan,*	Eugenius M. Wilson,*
Edward Campbell,*	Samuel Claytor,*
William Byars,	James Saunders.—40.

Mr. Doddridge was absent at the call of the ayes and noes.

\* Dead.

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**ADVERTISEMENT.**

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**THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL REGISTER.**

This work is now completed, and comprises in its leading articles a number of valuable memorials, or partial accounts of particular portions of the History of our State, from the earliest period to the close of our revolutionary war, collected from various sources and now brought together for the first time. It embraces also a number of original letters of General Washington, Richard Henry Lee, George Mason, and others, hitherto inedited, with various other documents—all calculated to shed new light on our annals. And lastly it contains a variety of biographical notices, and other short articles which serve to relieve, and still, for the most part, contribute to illustrate the main subject of the work.

WM. MAXWELL.

*Richmond, March 1, 1854.*

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☞ We have only a few complete sets of this work to dispose of, which may be had at our office on the following terms:

A single set in 3 double volumes, in paper,	\$5 00
Do. in three double volumes, neatly half-bound,	6 00

☞ Orders from the country enclosing the price, will be attended to, and the books forwarded by mail, or otherwise, as may be directed.

W. M.

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THE PLAN  
OF THE  
VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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The main object of this Society is to collect, preserve, and diffuse information relating to the History of Virginia, past and current, from the earliest times to the present day.

In pursuing this object, the Executive Committee have opened a large and convenient room in the Athenæum, in which they have placed the Library, and a Cabinet of Curiosities illustrative of the Natural and Civil History of the State; and which is open to the Members, and others properly introduced by them, during stated hours.

They have also authorized their Secretary to publish a small Journal, entitled the Virginia Historical Reporter, (this work,) and they further propose to publish a yearly volume of Historical Collections, which will be arranged in chronological order, and entitled the Annals of Virginia, as soon as funds can be obtained for the purpose.

To support this establishment and service, the Members of the Society contribute either fifty dollars for life, or five dollars a year, during their membership, which they can terminate when they please; and they receive both publications, this Reporter, and the yearly volume, (if published,) without charge.

The sums contributed for life memberships are vested in State Stock, and constitute a Permanent Fund, the accruing interest of which alone is used by the Committee.

All persons who may be disposed to aid the Society, or the Committee, in the prosecution of their useful and patriotic engagement, by becoming members, or otherwise, are requested to send in their names, and contributions, to the subscriber.

WM. MAXWELL,  
*Secretary and General Agent.*

THE  
VIRGINIA HISTORICAL REPORTER,  
CONDUCTED BY THE  
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
OF THE  
VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME I—PART II.

RICHMOND:  
PRINTED FOR THE COMMITTEE,  
BY CLEMMITT & FORE.  
1855.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL REPORTER.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

*The following is a list of the Officers of the Society, &c., at the present time:*

HON. WM. C. RIVES, *President.*

HON. JAMES M. MASON,  
WM. H. MACFARLAND, Esq. }  
HON. JOHN Y. MASON, } *Vice Presidents.*

WM. MAXWELL, *Cor. Secretary and Librarian.*

ANDREW JOHNSTON, *Rec. Secretary.*

GEORGE N. JOHNSON, *Treasurer.*

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

CONWAY ROBINSON, *Chairman,* CHARLES CARTER LEE,

GUSTAVUS A. MYERS, ARTHUR A. MORSON,

THOMAS T. GILES, THOMAS H. ELLIS,

GEORGE W. RANDOLPH.

The Officers of the Society are, *ex-officio*, members of the Executive Committee.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

*Elected at the late Annual Meeting.*

HON. JUDGE JOHN ROBERTSON, of Richmond.

HENRY E. WATKINS, Esq., of Prince Edward.

CHS. WYKEHAM MARTIN, Esq. of Leeds Castle, England.

HON. JUDGE WM. LEIGH, of Halifax.

HON. JOHN TYLER, of Charles City.

HON. WM. S. ARCHER, of Amelia.

CORRESPONDING MEMBER.

*Elected during the past year.*

N. F. CABELL, Esq., of Nelson,

LIFE MEMBERS.

*Enrolled during the past year.*

JOHN R. EDMUNDS, Esq., of Halifax.

JOHN P. BALLARD, Esq., of Richmond.

THE  
VIRGINIA HISTORICAL REPORTER,  
CONDUCTED BY THE  
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
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1854.

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THE  
VIRGINIA HISTORICAL REPORTER.

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THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY:  
THE EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The Eighth Annual Meeting of the Virginia Historical Society was held in the Hall of the Athenæum, on Thursday evening, December 14th, 1854, and was well attended.

Gustavus A. Myers, Esq., senior member of the Executive Committee, (in the absence of the President and Vice Presidents,) presided.

The Chairman of the Executive Committee, Conway Robinson, Esq., read the Report of the Committee, showing the progress of the Society during the past year.

After these proceedings, Hon. R. M. T. Hunter, of the U. S. Senate, read an able and interesting Discourse on the Utility of History and Historical Societies, with Observations on the History of Virginia (which was apparently well received by all present.)

The following resolutions were then unanimously adopted:

On motion of Francis N. Watkins, Esq., of Prince Edward:

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Society be, and they are hereby presented to the Hon. R. M. T. Hunter for his able and interesting discourse delivered this evening;

and that he be requested to furnish a copy of it to the Executive Committee for preservation in the archives, and for publication in such manner as they shall order and direct.

On motion of Thos. T. Giles, Esq., of Richmond:

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Society be, and they are hereby presented to Charles Wykeham Martin, Esq., of Leeds Castle, England, for his handsome donation of a portrait of Lord Culpeper, sometime Governor of Virginia; and to Wm. Twopenny, Esq., of London, for his agreeable present of a frame of British oak, for that portrait; and also another similar one, for the portrait of Captain George Percy, sometime President of the Council of Virginia.

The following gentlemen were elected officers of the Society for the ensuing year:

HON. WM. C. RIVES, *President.*

HON. JAMES M. MASON,  
WM. H. MACFARLAND, ESQ. }  
HON. JOHN Y. MASON, } *Vice Presidents.*

WM. MAXWELL, *Cor. Secretary and Librarian.*

ANDREW JOHNSTON, *Recording Secretary.*

GEORGE N. JOHNSON, *Treasurer.*

The following gentlemen were elected Honorary Members of the Society:

HON. JUDGE JOHN ROBERTSON, of Richmond.

HENRY E. WATKINS, ESQ., of Prince Edward.

CHAS. WYKEHAM MARTIN, ESQ., of Leeds Castle, England.

HON. JUDGE WM. LEIGH, of Halifax.

HON. JOHN TYLER, of Charles City.

HON. WM. S. ARCHER, of Amelia.

We report here the papers already referred to, as they were submitted:

## THE COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

*Report made to the Virginia Historical Society, by its Executive Committee, at the Annual Meeting in December, 1855:*

It will be remembered that the Society, at its last annual meeting, adopted a resolution directing the Executive Committee to cause to be prepared and presented to the General Assembly of Virginia, a memorial in the name of the Society, respectfully asking an appropriation to the Society of one thousand dollars a year, for such term of years as the General Assembly might deem advisable, to enable the Society to procure from England copies of manuscripts relating to the early history of this State, and to prosecute its publication of the early voyages to America and the annals of Virginia. No time was lost in complying with this resolution. A sub-committee, consisting of Messrs. Randolph, Giles and Ellis, prepared the memorial, had it presented, and sustained before a committee of the Senate the propriety of the action that was sought. A bill was accordingly reported to the Senate, and the sentiment in that body, we learn, was highly favorable to the appropriation; yet the session terminated without its being made.

When we reflect on the nature of the manuscripts in England—deeply interesting to all Virginians who really care for the land of their birth, yet depending, many of them, on the frail duration of perishable paper—and when it is remembered that the Chairman had, during his visit to England, made arrangements for procuring copies in case of the requisite appropriation—it must be admitted to be a subject of just regret that that appropriation was not made. Within the whole limits of the Commonwealth we have no account of what was done by the

first General Assembly held in the colony that convened at James City the 30th of July, 1619. It is now ascertained that there is at London, in the State paper office, a full report, containing the names of the burgesses, their manner of proceeding, their resolutions and acts, or ordinances. And yet the Assembly has failed to take the proper steps to procure a copy of that report; and copies of other manuscripts, bearing on the history of the State. It would be a lasting shame upon Virginia, now that she has unquestioned evidence of the existence of such manuscripts, to let them pass into destruction without taking measures to have them copied and preserved. Until those measures are taken, the Society, we think, should not forbear any efforts which may be in its power to attain the object.

Since the last annual report, copies have been received of the portraits of Capt. George Percy, who had charge of the colony of Virginia in 1611, and of Lord Culpeper, who was Governor of Virginia in 1680; the former presented by the Chairman, the latter by Charles Wykeham Martin, Esq., of Leeds Castle. Our Secretary having expressed the wish that the frames of these portraits should be of English oak, this was esteemed a compliment by William Twopenny, Esq., an English barrister, who had kindly agreed to have the copies made, and he requested the Society to do him the favor to accept the frames as a present from him, with an expression at the same time, of his sincere wishes for its prosperity.

Nor is our Society without farther evidence of good will towards it, at home. Our townsman, Mr. Robt. M. Sully, whose liberality had been manifested in other instances, has given to the Society a portrait of *Pocahontas*, fit to be placed by the side of the fine picture given by his uncle. And the largest pecuniary contributions yet made to the Society by any one person, has been

made the past year by a citizen of another Virginia city—a man whose name, though we may not mention it, one cannot think of now in his venerable age, without taking pleasure in remembering the greatness of his intellect, his strong Virginia feeling, and his faithful discharge of public duty, whether in the councils of the State or of the nation.

By means of a donation of \$200, from the source just alluded to, in aid of donations from others, and what has been received from forty-four life members, the Society's investment in certificates of debt of the State of Virginia, bearing interest, now amounts to three thousand one hundred dollars, (\$3,100). This is its permanent fund, of which only the interest is used. Out of such interest, and the income from payments of annual members, Mr. Maxwell has defrayed the expense of publishing the admirable discourse delivered by Mr. Grigsby before the Society, at its last annual meeting, and the other matter contained in the work, edited by our Secretary, and called the *Virginia Historical Reporter*.

To the Society's library, valuable additions are yearly made, by means of the \$150 a year, appropriated by the council of Richmond. Among the late importations is a fine copy of the edition, published in 1854, of the great work upon the Natural History of our Southern country, published by the English Naturalist, Catesby, who was in Virginia in 1712.

Thus, so far as it is in our power, we are collecting and preserving manuscripts and printed volumes, bearing upon the history of the State; publishing matter, the publication whereof is important for its preservation, or to diffuse a knowledge of our history, and decorating the walls of our Library room with portraits of those who have been entrusted with the government of Virginia, or distinguished in her annals.

## DONATIONS.

*List of Books and Paintings presented to the Society  
during the past year.*

Congressional Globe, 2 vols. 4to.; Owen's Report of a Geological Survey of Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota, &c., 1 vol. 4to.; by Hon. R. M. T. Hunter.

Washington Astronomical Observations, 1847, 1 vol. 4to.; by the National Observatory.

A collection of such Public Acts of Assembly and Ordinances of the Conventions of Virginia, passed since 1768, as are now in force; published by a resolution of General Assembly, the 16th day of June, 1783, 1 vol. folio; by Thomas H. Wynne, of Richmond.

A Picture of Jamestown, taken from Nature, by Robt. M. Sully, Esq., of Richmond; presented by John M. Gordon, Esq., of Baltimore.

A Portrait of Captain George Percy, sometime President of the Council of Virginia; presented by Conway Robinson, Esq., of Richmond.

A Portrait of Lord Culpeper, sometime Governor of Virginia; presented by Charles Wykeham Martin, Esq., of Leeds Castle, England.

Two Frames of English oak, for the abovementioned Portraits; presented by William Twopenny, Esq., of London.

# Observations on the History of Virginia:

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## A DISCOURSE

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

AT THEIR

EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING,

DECEMBER 14, 1854.

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BY HON. R. M. T. HUNTER.

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PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

RICHMOND:  
CLEMMITT & FORE, PRINTERS,  
1855.



# DISCOURSE.

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*Mr. President and Gentlemen  
of the Virginia Historical Society:*

When I received the invitation to deliver your annual discourse, I was so well aware that I could not bring to the task that fullness of knowledge which is essential to do justice to the subject, that my first impulse was to decline the honor, highly as I esteemed it. But, upon subsequent reflection, it struck me that I might perhaps render useful aid to your Society, by calling public attention, in some degree, to the great importance of the objects of your pursuit, and the high value of such labors not only to ourselves, but to others. I cannot be accused of error in bearing such testimony to the great objects of your pursuit, by those who reflect upon their nature and tendencies. For surely one of the highest offices that man can render to his race, is to store up the experience and the ideas of the present generation for the uses of those which are to succeed it, and to render such treasures of the past accessible to his cotemporaries. Next in importance to him who first conceives the great thought, or originates the high example, stands the man who preserves the example and perpetuates the thought for the everlasting use and possession of the generations which are to succeed him. It is through man's capacity to use the experience and the thoughts of his fellows,

and to store up and accumulate such treasures by adding the present stock to that of the past, that he mainly secures the means of the progress and growth which so distinguish him from all other animals. To ascertain the extent of the development which the human race may attain by the use of such means, we have only to compare the Anglo-Saxon, the Celt or the Teuton of to-day, with his rude ancestors, who roamed through the forests of Gaul, or of Germany, as described to us by Cæsar and Tacitus. (I will not take the more striking comparison between the Bushman or Fetish worshiper of Africa with his civilized cotemporary, because that might be ascribed more to a difference of race than of cultivation, to which alone I refer at present. The first presents a case quite strong enough for the purposes of illustration, as there is almost as much difference between the former and present condition of the races, as between the first and last state of the statue man, imagined by the French philosopher to awaken, sense by sense, into existence, until he stood completely clothed in all the attributes of humanity.) Take, then, the savage ancestor and the civilized descendant and compare them, sense with sense, and faculty with faculty, and how vast is the difference! The vision of the first was bounded by the limits of the sensible horizon; a few miles upon earth, and some of the larger objects in the heavens alone were visible to him, whilst he was entirely unconscious of the myriads of beings, living and moving within and around him. The vision of the last penetrates into the very depths of space, and discovers worlds and systems of worlds, all unknown to his rude progenitor; he weighs their substance, measures their dimensions, and calculates their motions, with an accuracy which the other hardly attained with regard to the objects of his immediate contact; or, turning his magic glass, he explores a microcosm in the almost infin-

itesimal atom, and becomes sensible of myriads of beings, who people it and give it life. How many more times, then, is the last a man, as compared with the first, if tested by the sense of sight alone! Tried by the faculties of physical strength and motion, the difference is still as great in his favor. He directs and controls the most subtle and powerful physical agencies, and imprisons captives far mightier than Samson, who grind blindly at his mill. Still more wonderful is his superiority in the means of communicating with his fellow. His thoughts are exchanged in seconds over distances through which formerly they could not have been communicated in months; and he himself flies along the earth with a speed greater than the horse, and perhaps equaling that of the bird. In this vast increase of the means for accumulating strength and for association amongst men, how much greater is the amount of power which falls to the share of the civilized individual than that to which the savage ancestor could by possibility have aspired!

Doubtless the wild man of the woods could distinguish between sounds, as pleasant or unpleasant, as grave or gay, but what sense had he of the hidden harmonies which floated in the air around him? Did he dream that the very air which he breathed could be modulated into sounds which subdue the senses by their tones, and stir the soul to its inmost depths, speaking in the only universal language known to man, with an unerring concord, and a certainty of expression which the original curse of Babel has never reached to confuse or destroy? So, too, he must have had some idea of the beautiful, in the forms of things; but it was as transitory as the lights and shadows which flitted by him. To fix the idea ere it fled, and reproduce it in forms more eloquent than words; to make sentient the cold impassive stone, and to embalm emotions and sentiments in lights borrowed from heaven,

would have been indeed to him an “art and a faculty *divine*,” so far did it transcend his power of execution. Nor is the superiority of the last over the former generation of the men of whom I have been speaking, less striking in a moral, than in a physical point of view. Conceptions over which a Newton, or a Leibnitz, or Bernouilli, or Euler, toiled in his study, are now the daily exercises of boys at college; and the higher and subtler analysis of La Grange, or La Place, is probably destined to be mastered with equal facility hereafter. Ideas whose origination cost so much to a Plato, or an Aristotle, a Bacon, a Des Cartes, or a Kant, are now the common property of the world, and thousands understand thoughts which probably not one of them could have discovered.

In times of peace, and since the invention of printing, it may almost be said that each generation starts from the point that the last had attained; and if in comparing the present with the past, we find so vast a difference in favor of the existing generation of men, with what proud hopes may we not be justly inspired for the future progress of our race! If the difference between the two generations whom I have compared be such as would seem to a superficial observer to indicate a superior nature in the last, what may we not rightfully expect of future improvement, when we think of the greater opportunities for progress which each succeeding generation will enjoy? A proud thought this, but not too proud, if we remember, with becoming gratitude and humility, to whose power it is that we owe these faculties and opportunities, and endeavor to fulfill the conditions upon which alone such a promise could have been given. One of these conditions undoubtedly is, that we should preserve the experience and the ideas of the past and the present, for the use of the future. Without this faculty of one

man to use and possess himself of the example and ideas of another, our race could never have reached the point to which it has already attained; and without the means of preserving these examples and these ideas, that faculty could not be exercised. To preserve these is the historian's function, yours, Sir, and that of the Society over which you preside.

I have already said that I rate the historian next only in point of importance to him from whom first emanates the great example, or high conception, and who, by original discovery, extends the boundaries of human thought; and to this extent I think experience will fully bear me out. The historian is the treasurer who stores away and preserves the moral wealth of the human race, and hoards up the ideas and conceptions which are as essential to its spiritual growth and elevation, as material means are to its physical existence. But there is one great and never to be forgotten difference between the two species of wealth, moral and material, which leaves no doubt as to the superior value of the former. In the first, each may enjoy all, and yet leave no smaller individual share to another; it is not consumed by its use, and suffers no loss by division; in the last, when one takes a part, less is left for his neighbor. In the first, the broadest socialism is practicable, the property is improved from its possession by many, and such is the law of its increase and growth; in the latter, individual and exclusive possession of a part seems to be the law of the growth of the whole, and hence arise manifold difficulties, to which I may perhaps allude, but cannot in this place develop. In a few words, the difference between the two, is all the difference between the finite and the infinite.

I have dwelt somewhat upon this topic, even at the risk of seeming metaphysical, because I felt that I was touching upon a subject which is hardly enough consid-

ered at this day, by statesmen and philosophers, and all those, in short, who seek to lead the march of human thought. In the development of material wealth and power, there never has been such a period as the present in the history of the human race. Can we say the same of the care bestowed upon its moral resources? That the moral progress of our race has been great, I have already admitted; but is there not danger, that in the eager pursuit of material wealth, and physical improvement, we may not sufficiently consider the culture of those moral resources, whose development is so important to a high national character?

If the uses of human history be such as approximate to those I have described, how can we over-estimate their importance, or that of the faithful historian? When I speak of the historian, I do not mean him only who narrates events in letters and sentences. He who preserves a record of thoughts and sentiments, is as much to be valued as a historian, as he who chronicles human actions and passions; and he who preserves a great conception for the uses of posterity, performs the duty of a historian, no matter what the shape in which it may be perpetuated as a possession to mankind. Thucydides was no more a historian of the time of Pericles, than Phidias; from the one we learn the march of its events, from the other the state of the arts; and realize a conception of the beautiful, so preserved as to be food for the thought of after ages. The Elgin marbles are as valuable to us in an historical point of view, as the most splendid passages of Thucydides, and the friezes of the Parthenon are so many pictured pages, which speak of the past both to the mind and eye of the beholder, and almost with the force of a living witness. Whatever preserves an idea or the memory of a fact for the benefit of man, is historical in its uses; and all the various forms in which this

object is attained, deserve our study and consideration. The great historians who are distinguished alike for powers of narration, sagacious criticism, and faithful delineations of the characters of nations, or individuals, are truly of rare occurrence, "*homines centenarii.*" It is not for every era, or every people, to produce even one of them. The Thucydides, or Tacitus, or even the Herodotus, or Livy, of the English language, has not yet appeared. But in all civilized countries, the means and the men exist for collecting monuments and traditions, from which their history may be understood, or written; to collect, and if possible to arrange them, is the great duty of an association such as yours, a duty which it may be said, that every people, so far as their own annals are concerned, owe to their ancestors, to themselves, and to humanity.

Many of the civilized nations of the earth, seem to be acting under a sense of their obligations in this regard, and a most extraordinary success has rewarded their labors. With the expedition of Napoleon into Egypt, commenced a series of researches into the monumental history of the earth, whose results have been at once startling and gratifying. Thanks to modern discovery, the Rosetta tablet now ranks with the Arundelian marbles in point of historical importance, and the pictured pages on the books of stone of monumental Egypt, which for so many ages have defied his scrutiny, are now found to yield up their secrets to the inquisition of man. The boundaries of authentic history have been set back for several ages in the past, monuments of more than five thousand years of age have been identified, and a period of many centuries has been recovered from the realms of night and chaos into which it had fallen.\*

\* Bunsen's "Egypt's Place in Universal History," vol. I, page 28 of Introduction, and pages 83 and 99.

Almost everywhere enterprises have been set on foot by government, by associations, and even by individuals, to explore the monumental records of our race, and to wrest from the cold, impassive face of the silent stone, some portion at least of the story of humanity. The land of "Eld," the immutable and immemorial East, is everywhere searched for its traditional treasures of human lore, and whole cities of the dead have been uncovered to the astonished gaze of civilized man. Heroes whose very existence had seemed fabulous, now take their appropriate niche in the Temple of Fame, and eras whose traditions had been hid in the "awful hoar" of innumerable ages, once more assume their place in the page of authentic history. Still, as we tread these silent chambers of the long-forgotten dead, we start at the unmistakable signs of their fellowship with ourselves in all the passions of the human race. Amidst the mazes of winged bulls, and sculptured lions, we see pictured on the everlasting stone, the same dark story of human suffering, and human wrong. The conqueror, returning from afar, rode then as afterwards, triumphant in his chariot, and dejected files of the captives of his bow and spear, in sad procession followed in his train. Then, as now, man sought to perpetuate the story of his power and prowess, by monuments so lasting as to defy the ravages of time. As the wayfarer on a distant shore leaves some sign by which he seeks to perpetuate a sense of his presence to those who may succeed him, so we find that humanity has set its marks in these remote and newly-discovered regions of the Past. Light begins to stream in many a dark crypt through fissures made by the investigating hand of man, and night slowly lifts its curtain from events upon which its shadow had reposed until they had become forgotten, and unknown. It would be surprising indeed, if such things as these had not served to

awaken expectation, and excite inquiry. In the midst of so stirring a scene, and in view of the honorable rivalry amongst civilized nations for precedence in the path of historical inquiry, shall apathy be found only here, in the "ancient Dominion," as Virginia styled herself by her own House of Burgesses so far back as 1699? Shall we suffer the very records of our own history to be lost irrevocably, when they might be preserved with so little trouble? Surely there never started an argosy more richly freighted with human destiny, than the little fleet of three vessels which, on the 19th of December, 1606, left the shores of England in search of Virginia; for it was the venture which first planted successfully the germ of Anglo-Saxon civilization upon the continent of America. Had this enterprise been the favorite subject of an imagination as lively as that of the Greeks, who made so much of the voyage of the Argonauts, and their first exploring expedition into the Euxine, it would long since have been celebrated as a chosen theme in history and in song. Each had its fabled dangers to encounter, and each gave a rich promise of real results. If the Symplegades threatened to inclose the ship of the one in their deadly embrace, the "still vexed Bermoothes," or "Isle of Devils," as the early adventurers called it,\* lay in the way of the other. The fleece of gold was the charm which attracted both.

In the whole history of human adventure, perhaps none ever beheld a scene more wild and strange than that which stretched before the eyes of the first settlers of Virginia, as they laid upon the quiet bosom of the James, whose silent waters rolled from they knew not where, and whose silver line made the only break in the vast and dark expanse around them. The painted Indian,

\* 3 Hening, p. 181.

in his wild array of skins and feathers, stood like some pictured figure in the silent scene of which he formed a part. Pathless forests stretched far away in boundless and unknown space, whose silence was disturbed only by the strange cries of animals as yet unseen, and whose eternal shadows seemed to rest upon mysteries as deep as the solitude in which they were hidden. Secrets of human destiny were there, and a future whose vast and manifold scroll was as yet unsolved even to the eye of imagination itself. Upon this vast field, the human race was to take a fresh departure, and they themselves were to plant the germ of a new civilization, whose growth was to be at least as rich as the lately discovered world around them. Had some one arisen, as of old, more prescient than the rest, to foretell the destiny which awaited them, like the Hebrew mother, they would have smiled with incredulity at the magnitude of the promise, and turned a faithless ear to the prophet and his prophecy.

In all that crowd, perhaps there was one whose imagination might have been filled with such a conception, I mean Capt. John Smith, the true founder of the colony, and the first historian of Virginia, whose strangely chequered life had been such as to teach him a distinction between the unknown and the impossible; and who, with all the faith of genius was capable of aspiring to great things. With the country itself, he seems to have been completely fascinated, for he declared that "heaven and earth seemed never to have agreed better to frame a place for man's commodious and delightful habitation."\* And Beverly too, writing about a century after, says, "the country is in a very happy situation between the extremes of heat and cold, but inclining rather to the first. Certainly it must be a happy climate since it is

\* Smith's History of Virginia, p. 114.

very near the same latitude with that of the Land of Promise. Besides, the Land of Promise was full of rivers, and branches of rivers, so is Virginia; as that was seated on a great bay and sea, whereon were all the conveniences of shipping, so is Virginia. Had that fertility of soil? so has Virginia, equal to any land in the known world.”\* Again he says, in regard to it, “The clearness and brightness of the sky add new vigor to their spirits, and perfectly remove all spleenetic and sullen thoughts. Here they enjoy all the benefits of a warm sun, and by their shady trees are protected from its inconvenience. Here all their senses are entertained with an endless succession of natural pleasures; their eyes are ravished with the beauties of naked nature; their ears are serenaded with the perpetual murmur of brooks, and the thorough-bass which the wind plays when it wanders through the trees; the merry birds too, join their pleasing notes to this rural concert, especially the mock birds, who love society so well that often, when they see mankind, they will perch upon a twig and sing the sweetest airs in the world.”† So wrote, a hundred and thirty years ago, a Virginian, enamored of his native land. His picture may be extravagant; but who does not admire the spirit in which it is drawn!

It is not my purpose to attempt to trace the history of Virginia from its first painful beginnings, through all the stages of its growth, up to its present state and condition. If the proper limits of this address did not forbid it, I should be prevented by my want of qualifications for the task. But the history of every people has a moral which it may be profitable to study, and not only teaches the mode in which its national character has been moulded for good, or ill, but also the means by which it may be

\* Beverly’s Hist. of Va. p. 256.      † Ibid, p. 258.

strengthened and elevated. To this extent the history of each people becomes a matter of general interest to all. The title a State may have to the respect of mankind must depend upon facts, and to preserve the historical evidences upon which they rest, ought to be a labor of love to its sons. To cast a passing glance at each of these views of our history, perhaps, may not be inappropriate on the present occasion.

To stimulate individual energy, and to extend individual liberty, seems to have been the great object of the Virginia colonists. Social strength was sought as the means for securing the opportunities for such a system of culture, rather than as the end to be attained by the development of individual freedom and energy. Accordingly, the largest liberty of individual action was sought, which in that day was deemed compatible with social order, and the due protection of persons and property. A knowledge of this their great desire, and of the circumstances under which it was modified and exercised, will afford the key to the colonial history of Virginia. "Existence without government, (says Bancroft, quoting from Jefferson,) seemed to promise to the general mass a greater degree of happiness than the tyranny of the European governments."\* The establishment of an ordinance for common property, and the regulations of the home government, threatened to disappoint the Virginia colonists of their destiny; but the instinct of national character, and circumstances favorable to its development, by which they were surrounded, were too strong for artificial restraints. Says Bancroft, "They were Anglo-Saxons in the woods again, with the inherited culture and intelligence of the seventeenth century. The Anglo-Saxon mind, in its severest nationality, neither distracted

\* Bancroft, vol. II, p. 213.

by fanaticism nor wounded by persecution, nor excited by new ideas; but fondly cherishing the active instinct for personal freedom, secure possession, and legislative power, such as belonged to it before the reformation, and existed independent of the reformation, had made its dwelling place in the empire of Powhatan.”\*

It was this spirit which enabled them not only to surmount the difficulties which so embarrassed them at first, but in the end to convert them into auxiliaries of their growth and progress. The Indian power which was so near annihilating the colony in 1622, after it was placed under proper restraints, often served as a useful barrier to the too rapid dispersion of the white population in the wilderness. When we survey all the difficulties encountered by the early settlers, it is surprising that they survived the perils which surrounded them. Sometimes it was domestic dissension that disturbed them, then Famine stared them in the face, and to crown the whole, on one day they were nearly all annihilated by a general Indian insurrection and massacre, with all the cruel accompaniments of savage warfare “sparing neither age nor sex, but destroying man, woman and child, according to their cruel way of leaving none behind to bear resentment.”† In 1609, they were reduced by a famine of uncommon horrors from five hundred, to three-score men, when Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers and Captain Newport arrived with their two little cedar vessels, the “Patience,” and “Deliverance,” built by themselves in Bermuda, where they had been shipwrecked, and offered either to stay with them and divide their provision, or to take them away, and put to sea again. This, and the opportune arrival of Lord Delaware, saved the colony upon that occasion, but the “starving

\* Bancroft, vol. II, p. 454. † Beverly, p. 39.

time," as it was called, was long remembered in their annals.\* Still more startling was the massacre in March, 1622, when, according to Beverly, "of Christians there were murdered three hundred and forty-seven, most of them falling by their own instruments and working tools." †

In grateful recollection of the preservation of the colony under so many difficulties more than one statute is to be found by which the "old planters" were exempted from a portion of the public burthens, and the 22nd of March, the day of the massacre, was by law set apart as a holy day, to commemorate their providential deliverance from utter destruction at that time. Of the feelings awakened by such events amongst a handful of settlers, environed as they were by so many perils, we can now form no adequate conception; but the colonial statutes of that period, and a little after, present some striking evidences of the condition of the people. A general war was declared against the Indians; certain periods of the year were fixed upon by law for hunting the savages, and falling upon their towns; persons were forbidden to work in the fields unless they were armed, and at least four of them together, and they were strictly enjoined to carry arms to church.‡

The trade between the whites and the Indians, and the terms of their intercourse to a certain extent, were regulated by law. The colonial government, of course, exerted to the utmost their feeble powers for the protection of the citizen, but after all, the main dependence was upon individual energy and resources. And upon that idea, the whole policy of the government was based. With such means, and entirely by their own exertions, they were able to work out their deliverance so far as to enable

\* Beverly, pp. 21, 22, 23. † Ibid, p. 39. ‡ 1 Hening, 174, 317, 418, 319.

Sir William Berkeley to say in his answer to the Lords Commissioners of Foreign plantations, in 1671, "the Indians, our neighbors, are absolutely subjected, so there is no fear of them." \* Of course this refers only to the settled parts, as history shows a very different state of things on the frontiers then, and long afterwards. It was, perhaps, well for the colony that it was forced to depend upon itself for protection against the dangers which assailed it, for it was this necessity which led to a social organization and domestic policy, upon which were founded the ultimate happiness and prosperity of the State.

In 1619, the first colonial assembly that ever met in Virginia, was convened by Sir George Yeardley † and in July 1621, a written constitution was first given by the London Company. The legislative power became thus vested in the Governor, Council and Burgesses of Assembly, elected by the people, the Council, after 1680, sitting apart as an upper house in legislative matters, and also advising the Governor as to his executive duties. The acts of this assembly, when assented to by the Governor, became laws, unless negatived by the Crown. The Council, although appointed by the Crown, or in case of vacancy by the Governor, held by a tenure which was in fact, though not in theory, independent, and for the most part, like the burgesses, sided with the people, with whom they had common interests. ‡ The right of representative government being once granted, a domestic organization and policy were soon moulded so as to meet substantially the wants of the people. In 1623, monthly courts were established, and likewise commanders of plantations were instituted to be of the quorum, and also to exercise a military control over the plantation for which they were appointed. The general court was composed

\* Hening, vol. II, p. 511.

† Ibid vol. I, p. 118.

‡ 1 Beverly, pp. 203, 4, 5, 6, 7.

of the Governor and Council, and appeals lay to the General Assembly.\* The germs of the general and local governments of the colony were thus planted, and without going into the history of the various grants, and restrictions upon the power of the General Assembly, it may be said that the history of its legislation proves, that practically this body controlled the domestic affairs of the State; the Governor and Council, in most instances, concurring, or else being overruled by public opinion, except in some of those cases in which the king interfered for purposes of his own. Indeed, the Virginia agents who were sent to London to obtain a new charter from the king, in 1675, asked for a confirmation of the authority of the "grand assembly," consisting of Governor, Council, and Burgesses, and said "this is in effect, only to ask that the laws made in Virginia may be of force and value, since the legislative power has ever resided in an assembly, so qualified, and by fifty years' experience had been found a government more easy to the people and advantageous to the Crown; for in all that time, there had not been one law which had been complained of as burthen-some to the one, or prejudicial to the prerogative of the other."†

In an address made by the Governor and Council in their legislative capacity, and by the House of Burgesses to the King in 1752, it is stated, "that as we conceive, according to the ancient constitution and usages of this colony, all laws enacted here for the public peace, welfare, and good government thereof, and not repugnant to the laws and statutes of Great Britain, have always been taken and held to be in full force until your majesty's disallowance thereof is notified here, and that the same may be revised, altered, and amended, from time to time,

\* Sir William Berkeley's statement, in 1671, (Hening, vol. II, p. 512.)

† Hening, vol. II, p. 527.

as our exigencies may require. But that when a law once enacted here, hath once received your majesty's approbation, and both been confirmed, finally enacted and ratified, the same cannot by the legislature here be revised, altered or amended, without a clause therein to suspend the execution thereof, till your majesty's pleasure shall be known therein, although our necessities for an immediate revisal, alteration, or amendment be ever so pressing," \* and accordingly they complain of the king's signing some of their own laws because they were thus placed beyond their reach, without the tedious process which they describe. From which it is to be inferred that their domestic legislation was for the most part framed by themselves, with but little interference from abroad. Such interference rarely took place except in matters relating to foreign commerce and imperial interests, or the more selfish and personal schemes of the king, or his favorites, for purposes of individual plunder.

The judiciary, too, was eminently popular; justices of the county courts practically filled their own vacancies, or the appointments were made by the Governor and Council, upon recommendations given by themselves. Appeals lay not only to the general court, but, as Sir William Berkeley declares, to the General Assembly itself; this, with the trial by jury, which was virtually given by the ordinance of the company in 1621, and secured by legislative enactment in 1642, † constituted a system which was satisfactory to the people at that time. But these county courts, which formed so important an element in the government of Virginia, and so powerful an agent in moulding the character of her people, and in promoting her prosperity, were not confined to judicial functions alone; they had many of the powers of a local

\* Hening 5th, p. 436. † Ibid.

government, laying taxes, making roads, and sometimes even waging Indian wars, by the assent of the State first given, under their own management and with their own money. In 1645,\* the counties of Isle of Wight and Upper and Lower Norfolk, were directed to make war upon the "Nansimon Indians." In the same year, certain other counties were associated to carry on war against the Indians,† under county lieutenants. In 1644, it was enacted, that those maimed and hurt should be relieved by the counties in which they resided. At first, the burgesses themselves were organized to be paid by the counties which they represented. In 1662, it was enacted that "whereas oftentimes small inconveniences happen in the respective counties and parishes, which cannot well be concluded in a general law; the respective counties, and several parishes in these counties, shall have liberty to make laws for themselves, and those that are so constituted by the major part of the said counties, or parishes, to be binding upon them as fully as any others.‡

In 1379, this system was further regulated || by associating delegates from the parishes with the justices. The first road over Rock-fish Gap was made by the county court of Augusta, under the authority of a law of the Assembly. Nay, so far did the early Colonial Assemblies go in this division of power and duties, that in 1645 they entered into a contract with Capt. Henry Fleet for ending the war with Opechancanough, for a consideration to be given him, and directed the counties north of James river to raise certain troops to be placed at the disposal of Lieut Fra. Poythers, and himself. § The General Assembly thus acting, through and upon a sort of confederation of local governments, and stimulating, as I shall presently show, individual energy to the highest possible

\* Hening 5th, p. 315. † Hening 1st, p. 292. ‡ Ibid 2, p. 171. || Ibid 2, p. 441.

§ Ibid 1st, p. 318.

activity, accomplished results which were wonderful for its means. By dividing the powers and duties of government amongst these local tribunals, and by apportioning to each in this way the expenses and burthens of public operations, in proportion to the share of benefit received by its constituents, they obtained the largest command of the resources and revenues of their people, which, perhaps, any government ever enjoyed. But this was not all, for they thus trained up the whole body of the people to the early consideration and management of public affairs, and secured a class—the magistrates of the county—who were always ready and willing to maintain order and justice at home, and to organize for defence in war. A class which constituted for the State its ornament in peace, and its defence in time of war. A more honorable and useful place in human society could not well be devised, than that which was held by the old Virginia magistrate. Commanding the entire respect of the people of whom he was one, and bound to them by the ties of a common interest and mutual association, he could not fail to enjoy their confidence. Wielding as one of the court the power of the state, and interpreting its laws by judicial decision within the limits of his county, or else sitting, like the Druid, under his oak to administer justice between man and man, in cases upon which he might act alone, he learned to understand the relations of law to public and private right.

In such keeping, the rights of himself and his neighbors were safe, and thus were trained up a class of men to whom the great body of the people might refer for counsel and assistance, in times of difficulty and emergency. Thus too, each county was provided with a local government, which provided the greatest possible security to persons and property to the extent of its jurisdiction. Under the existing circumstances of the

colony, a more admirable institution for political and judicial purposes could not have been devised. But this was not the only local subdivision of importance to the economy of the province; the counties were subdivided into parishes, in each of which was a vestry, who took charge of the temporal interests of the established church. But this vestry, originally selected by the people of the parish, filled vacancies in their own body and chose their own ministers, who held their livings at their pleasure, so that the same spirit for popular government, which was visible elsewhere in the institutions of Virginia, manifested itself here also.\* A government thus constituted over a people sparsely scattered in different settlements, or plantations, was forced to rely upon individual energy and action, to an extent perhaps never known before in the affairs of a regularly organized society. The first thing was to settle upon a land system, which was finally moulded by the Assembly to suit for the most part the wants of the colony, although various obstacles were interposed by the selfish and unwise interposition of the crown.

By the original charter, a “right” to fifty acres of land to a person for removing to, and settling in, Virginia, and as much for his wife, and each of his children, was given and secured.† What constituted “seating,” or settling, within the meaning of that, and subsequent laws, was the subject of legislative interpretation, as appears by many statutes to be found in Hening. So highly did the colonists value this mode of inviting immigration and settlement, that in the capitulation of the colony to the Commissioners of Parliament in 1651, this settlement right was specially reserved,‡ and in 1675, the agents sent out by Virginia, prayed “that the usual allowance of fifty

\* Beverley, p. 227-8. † Ibid, p. 241. ‡ Hen. 1st, p. 364.

acres of land for each person imported, which experience had proved to be so beneficial, may be continued."\* Indeed, this grant of land upon the condition of settlement sometimes with, and sometimes without, a small price, became a favorite instrument in the hands of the General Assembly for extending the population into the wilderness, and for defending the new plantations. Forts were built at the heads of the rivers upon grants of land to the individuals building and settling around them, and armed occupation acts were early known to the Virginia land policy. When a new settlement was to be made, it was invited by an act of the Legislature, which generally exempted the settlers from public burthens, and taxes for a limited time, who, by an old and standing law, were entitled to a certain quantity of land for improving and "seating" it.† In 1776,‡ four hundred acres of land were given to each family settling vacant lands on the waters of the Mississippi, and to families who, for greater safety, had settled together, and worked the land in common, a town site of six hundred and forty acres was given, and a further grant of four hundred acres, contiguous to the town, was made to every family upon *considerations of such settlement.*"

In some cases \$2 25 per one hundred acres, or a cent and a quarter per acre were to be paid by those claiming the settlement provisions. In fact, the settlement of Virginia beyond the Blue Ridge, at least, seems to have been made by the grant of lands upon the condition of occupying, improving, and defending them. Of course in times great difficulty, and to the extent of her means, the State contributed to that defence, but the great reliance, after

\* Hen. 2, p. 524.

† Hening 1st, p. 253, for not permitting settlements on north side Rappahannock river. In regard to settlement on the Roanoke, see Hen. 5th, pp. 37-58. In regard to settlements on the waters of the Mississippi, Hen. 6th, 258.

‡ Hening 9th, p. 356, and Marshall's History of Kentucky, vol. I, pp. 85, 6, 7, 8.

all, was upon individual resources. How far that reliance was just, may be found in the adventures of Boone, Logan, Hawood, Kenton and Clarke, and many others, whose heroic achievements upon "the dark and bloody ground," (as Kentucky was called,) might figure in romance, if in their case the reality were not even stranger, and wilder than fiction itself. In the experience of such men, war or peace might depend upon the accident of an hour, and if time were given to warn his neighbor of the approaching assault, or to dispatch a runner to the nearest settlement, he would have as much opportunity for preparation as he could reasonably expect. The lives and fortunes of his family must mainly depend upon his own courage and address. The difficulties, dangers, and sufferings of forest life, and Indian warfare, were all familiar to him, and he could use the hoe, the axe, or the rifle, with equal skill to defend himself against them. Take Marshall's account of the shifts to which early settlers in Fincastle, or Kentucky, as at different times the present State of Kentucky was variously called, and you will find that the contrivances of Robinson Crusoe were scarcely more primitive and simple. They encountered all this for what? To be *free*; free beyond all that was known in the experience of man; free to act and to feel, and to draw from the boundless stores of nature without let or hindrance from the competition of his fellow, and with no human opposition, except from the Indian, whose wild warfare seemed to diversify the adventures, in whose excitement he loved to live.

In thus pointing out the extent to which the freedom and energy of individual action was developed and encouraged by our colonial policy, it is but justice to our ancestors to show that it was not done without some regard also to the rights and welfare of the Indian, who, in the general, seems to have been treated kindly, except

in the exigencies of actual war, or under the provocation of some late massacre. In Hening's statutes for 1661,\* may be seen a digest of laws previously passed, in which are to be found many of the germs of the federal policy in regard to Indian intercourse. The boundaries between the Indian territory and that opened to the settlements of the whites, were to be marked out; if the whites intruded upon them within their settlements, their houses were to be pulled down, and themselves expelled. Their persons and property were secured by law, and none but licensed traders were allowed to trade with them, and, to prevent collisions, no Indians were permitted to come within the settlements, except such as had badges. Subsequently, it was prohibited by law to sell them liquor or arms, and various provisions were made for their education and civilization.† After this review of the fundamental institutions of our colonial government, and of its policy in regard to the lands and the Indians, the two subjects of greatest interest to it, and which were so closely connected with the moral state and the necessities of the physical existence of the people, I think it will be admitted that our early organization, so far as it was of domestic origin, gave great efficiency to a society, whose members were so few and scattered. To settle the wilderness, and rear up a great people, were the main objects of their pursuit, and the chief ends of their mission. What progress was early made in this career, their history will attest.

I have already shown how they laid the foundation of our subsequent Indian policy with most of the conservative checks upon the cupidity of the white man, which have been introduced into federal legislation in favor of the aborigines. I might have shown, too, that they intro-

\* Hening, vol. II, p. 138. † Stith's Hist. of Virginia, p. 217, and Beverley, p. 232.

duced the essential elements which have characterized our federal land policy, its pre-emptions,\* its discriminations in favor of the actual settlers, and not its system, but a system of surveys and records. The provision for the record of the sales of lands, is said by Sir William Berkeley,† to have been at that day (1671) the only innovation upon the laws of England. In 1671, Sir William Berkeley says, he does not much miscount in rating the population of Virginia at above 40,000 persons, of which 8,000 were Christian servants for a short time, and 2,000 were black slaves.‡ In 1688, Bancroft estimates the population at more than 50,000.|| Such was the people of whom it was asserted in 1671, that "both the acquisition and defence of Virginia have been at the charge of the inhabitants, and that the people at that time were at the expense of supporting not only the government, but the governor, which occasioned their taxes to be very high, § and that these taxes must continue high for the maintenance and support of the government, execution of law and justice, and defence and ornament of the country, erecting and endowing of churches, maintenance of ministers of English ordination, doctrine and liturgy, building and furniture of forts, bridges, ships-of-war, towns,"¶ &c. In the same document it is asserted, by the Virginia agents, that their goods yielded to the king in his customs about 100,000 pounds.

This, too, was the handful of people who had commenced a contest for an enlargement of their liberties when their first assembly met, which they were still conducting at that time. In the very first assembly they declared that "the governor shall not lay any taxes, or impositions upon the colony, their lands or commodities,

\* Marshall's History Kentucky, vol. I, p. 87. † Hening, vol. II, p. 512.

‡ Ibid, vol. II, p. 515. || Bancroft, vol. II, p. 452. § Hening, vol. II, p. 525.

¶ Hening, vol. II, p. 526.

otherwise than by the authority of the general assembly, to be levied and employed as the said assembly shall appoint,"\* and in 1631, it was enacted that "for encouragement of men to plant store of corn, the price shall not be stinted, but it shall be free for every man to sell it as dear as he can."†

In 1652, during the English Protectorate, they asserted that "the right of electing all officers of this colony, should appertain to the burgesses,"‡ which right they exercised during that period. Bancroft says: "Virginia established upon her soil the supremacy of the popular branch, the freedom of trade, the independence of religious societies, the security from foreign taxation, and the universal elective franchise;"|| already she preferred her own sons for places of authority; the country felt itself honored by those who were 'Virginians born,' and emigrants never again desired to live in England."§ If a re-action to some extent took place after the restoration of monarchy in England, "it was not without an earnest struggle upon her part." The agents sent by her to England to obtain a new charter, essayed by argument to show that they were entitled to the privileges of Englishmen,¶ and said, that "they humbly conceived it to be the right of Virginians, as well as all other Englishmen, not to be taxed, but by their consent, expressed through their representatives."\*\* Especially did they wish that the people of Virginia "should not be cantonized by grants given to particular persons," meaning the large and improvident grants to Arlington, Culpeper and others. It was during the delay of redress for these grievances, that Bacon's rebellion broke out in Virginia, caused partly by these large grants, which embarrassed the land titles

\* Hening, vol. I, p. 122. † Ibid, vol. I, p. 173. ‡ Ibid, vol. I, p. 372.

|| Bancroft, vol. 1, p. 231. § Ibid, p. 232. ¶ Hening, vol. II, pp. 525-6.

\*\* Hening, vol. II, p. 535.

of the colony, and still more by the delay of the governor to punish the Indian outrages upon the whites.\*

Whatever may have been the origin of this movement, it is plain from the action of Bacon's legislature, that their views extended beyond their first subject of complaint. They declared against plurality of offices, and for rotation in certain offices, disqualified all persons from holding offices except natives, or those who had resided in the country for three years, restored universal suffrage, required vestrymen to be elected every three years by the people of the parish, and prescribed that in each county representatives should be chosen by the people equal in number to the justices, to act with them in laying county levies, and making by-laws.† This movement, which was suppressed, caused much blood to flow, and great suffering in the colony. The author of the Northumberland tract says, it was whispered to have been said by the king, "that old fool, Sir William Berkeley, had hanged more men in that naked country, than he had done for the murder of his father." It was made an excuse, too, for denying the charter, and curtailing the privileges of the Colonial Assembly. Still, for all practical purposes, they continued to exercise more and more power over their domestic interests. The statute book proves it. They coined money, they laid duties for forts and light-houses, they made and managed Indian wars, authorized exploring expeditions, rewarded discoverers with a monopoly of the use of their inventions for a limited time, and maintained their right to appoint and control their own treasurer, and to appropriate by law the money raised by taxes. If a new territory was to be explored upon the Roanoke, or beyond the Blue Ridge, they offered an

\* Account of T. M. of Northumberland; also Burwell's MS., and Force, 1st vol. Hist. Tracts.

† Hening, 2. Bacon's Laws.

exemption from taxes for a limited period, and gave settlement rights and pre-emptions to the adventurers. If a new road was to be opened, as that over Rock-fish gap, the county was empowered to lay the necessary taxes, and execute the work. If the Mattapony was to be opened by private subscription, trustees were appointed, and their duties prescribed.

It was a Colonial Legislature which first projected the improvement of the waters of the James above the falls, and of the Potomac up to Fort Cumberland; and in these instances, for the first time, by way of compensation to the private subscribers, they were authorized to take tolls after completing their work. The first direct appropriation for a road, which I have found, was for one to connect the east and the west, for which the arrears of certain taxes, due to the State, in Greenbrier and other counties, through which it was to pass, were appropriated. Forts were built, and manned, at the heads of the rivers, at their own expense, and a large military force, compared with their means and population, was kept on foot through nearly the whole period of their colonial existence. They maintained and endowed an established church at public expense, and sustained the whole burthen of domestic government, and defence, in the most difficult times. It has been charged, upon the authority of some statutes, probably never very strictly enforced, that they were intolerant of religious dissent, and Sir William Berkeley's letter has been used as evidence of their neglect of public education. In regard to the first charge, Beverly says, "Yet liberty of conscience is given to all other congregations pretending to Christianity, on condition they submit to the parish dues." And of Quaker communities, he says: "'Tis observed by letting them alone, they decrease daily."\* In regard to the other allegation, it is said by

\* Beverly, p. 226.

Beverly, "There are large tracts of land, houses, and other things, granted to free schools for the education of children in many parts of the country, and some of these are so large, that of themselves, they are a handsome maintenance to a master. These schools have been founded by the legacies of well inclined gentlemen. In all other places, where such endowments have not been already made, the people join and build schools for their children, where they may learn upon very easy terms."\*

"But Spotswood," says Bancroft, "a royalist, a high churchman, a traveller, reverenced the virtues of the people." "I will do justice," he writes to the Bishop of London, "to this country. I have observed here less swearing and profaneness, less drunkenness and debauchery, less uncharitable feuds and animosities, and less knaveries and villainies, than in any part of the world where my lot has been."† When we come to consider the heavy burthens imposed upon the foreign commerce of Virginia by the British government, and its small population and resources at home, it is surprising to see how much was accomplished. Her settlements were constantly extending under the fire of the Indian rifle.

Spotswood, the most far-sighted of our colonial governors, early turned the attention of Virginia to the country beyond the Ohio, and exploring the passes of the Blue Ridge mountains, and penetrating into the valley, is said to have extended his views to Kaskaskia itself, at that time a French fort, separated from the nearest Virginia settlement by almost a thousand miles of wilderness.‡ He but anticipated the day; the hint which he then gave was afterwards remembered. The progress of expansion went on until, perhaps, there was not a river or stream navigable to a canoe, from the James to Point Pleasant in

\* Beverly, p. 240. † Bancroft, vol. II, p. 455. ‡ Ibid, vol. 3, p. 345.

Kanawha, which had not been the scene of bloody strife between the Virginian and the Indian. To make good her title within her chartered limits against not only the Indians, but the French, Virginia spared none of her resources, either in men or money. In 1746,\* she contributed £4,000 to the expedition against Canada, and in 1754, she began to make provision in men and money for the French and Indian wars.† Ten thousand pounds were directed to be raised by loan by this act. In 1756, £25,000 were raised,‡ and for the first time treasury notes, but notes bearing interest, were used.

In process of time, as more and more money was raised, these notes were issued without interest, and made a legal tender, but, in all instances, specific taxes were laid for their redemption. That this sound policy was pursued is evidenced by the fact, that in 1768, the taxes laid to secure their payment were repealed, because, as alleged, a sum had been raised equal to the whole emission of treasury notes from 1754 to 1762 inclusive.|| Bancroft was right in saying, "it was an age when nations rushed into debt, when stock-jobbers and bankers competed with land-holders for political power; and Virginia paid its taxes in tobacco, and alone, of all the colonies, alone of all civilized states, resisting the universal tendency of the age, had no debt, no banks, no bills of credit, no paper money.§ Until the French and Indian war, bills of credit had been unknown in Virginia. To sustain it, she spared none of her resources. The first movement in regard to the French occupation of Fort Du Quesne, was from Gov. Dinwiddie of Virginia, who dispatched Washington to ascertain their intentions. The first engagement, which opened the seven years' war, was between Washington and Jumonville, at the Great Meadows. At Brad-

\* Hening, vol. V, p. 400. † Ibid, VI, 417. ‡ Ibid VII, 9. || Ibid, VIII, 297.

§ Bancroft, vol. III, p. 396.

dock's defeat, "The Virginia companies (says Bancroft) showed the greatest valor, and were nearly all massacred. Of these companies, scarcely thirty men were left alive." \* When Grant made his ill-advised march upon Fort Du Quesne with eight hundred Highlanders and the Virginia company, "the behavior of the Virginians was publicly extolled by Forbes." Afterwards Washington was placed in command of the advance, which numbered amongst its forces 1,900 men raised by Virginia, and after the place had fallen, two regiments of Virginians were left to guard it." † No sooner was this expedition over, than we find Virginia, after being foiled in her attempts to preserve the peace by compensating the whites for spoliation made on their property by the friendly Indians during their march homeward, passing acts to raise men, and borrow £32,000 to relieve Fort Loudon, built at her expense, ‡ in the Cherokee nation, which had been invested by these Indians.

Of all the money thus expended by Virginia, not only from her annual revenue, but from the loans which she made, I do not find any mention of more than £30,000 which were returned to her by the crown. To have sustained these burthens, and to have borne so great a share of this war, as she did, with her sparse population, shows a command of the resources of the country, and an energy on the part of the people, not often witnessed in history. She must have owed this to her institutions and internal organization, but more to the spirit of her people. In referring to her institutions and policy, it must not be forgotten, that one of these institutions was that of African slavery, and that a cardinal feature in her policy was taxation in kind. That the existence of African slavery contributed much to the early settlement of this country,

\* Bancroft, vol. IV, 190. † Ibid, IV, 311, 12, 13.

‡ Hening, VII, 62. Ibid, VII, 334, 359.

there can be but little doubt. Whilst the master was absent exploring the country, or defending the settlements against the Indians, the slave cultivated the land at home, and opened and improved what the white man had conquered. We find the slave following his master into the most distant and dangerous settlements, and many instances are to be found of his defence of his master's family against the assaults of the Indians. The effect which this institution must have had upon the national character of the whites, I must say nothing of here; that it made the spirit of independence and freedom still prouder, and higher, than before, we have the testimony of Edmund Burke himself, and it is obvious enough that such a result would be the natural effect of such a cause.

That the fear of danger from the slave at home restrained the master in his enterprises abroad, there seems to be no sufficient evidence in our history; that such fears at one time existed in relation to the white servant, we have proofs not to be disputed. Sir William Berkeley in 1671,\* states the number of white servants to be 8,000, while of slaves he then counted but 2,000, and it appears† that the former plotted an insurrection in 1663, which gave so great an alarm to the colony, that the general court made an order that no more "jail-birds," as they were called, should be brought into Virginia, and requiring a Mr. Nevett to send out the "Newgate birds" within two months, according to a former order of the court. Beverly says, in speaking of this movement, that they were led by "Oliverian soldiers."‡ But the slave who provided food for the family at home, seemed rather to have added to the master's sense of security abroad. Whilst this institution probably increased the number of fighting men, which the colony could send to war, the

\* Hening, II, 510. † Ibid. ‡ Beverly, pp. 5-8.

taxation in kind added greatly to the means of supporting them abroad, and of maintaining the government at home.

The people were thus enabled to bear the burthen of a taxation, which would have been intolerable if laid in money, under the existing state of commerce, and the circumstances which surrounded them. It is at once curious and instructive to see how they converted tobacco, their only great staple, into the medium for taxation, and a currency for domestic uses besides. I will venture to say, that a more curious and interesting study could not well be offered to the political economist, than the history of Virginia legislation upon this subject. Not only were the taxes laid in tobacco, but it was made a legal tender, between man and man.

At first, if a dispute arose as to the value of tobacco, when thus tendered, it was determined by the arbitration of neighbors, and afterwards by the county court. In process of time, it was found more convenient to establish warehouses, where all the tobacco to be exported was deposited, and inspectors were appointed to ascertain its quality. For this a receipt, or tobacco note, was given, specifying the quantity and quality, and at a price fixed, I think, annually by the county court of the county in which it was situated.

These notes became a currency, and were made a tender. But the price might vary from one year to another, and, accordingly, it was provided, that it should be a legal tender only for one year, at the price first fixed; its value from year to year being determined according to the fluctuations in the price allowed by the county court itself. There was also another difficulty; a note given for tobacco deliverable at one public warehouse, would not be so valuable as one issued from another more accessible to the foreign markets; a difficulty similar in its nature to that of keeping up the par value of the paper of different

branch banks. This was remedied, as far as a remedy was practicable at all, by another contrivance. Centres of trade for the different counties were fixed, and the tobacco notes of certain warehouses were a legal tender only in certain contiguous counties which were designated by law. But in fixing these values of the tobacco, the county courts might err, not probably from interest, but possibly by mistake. To meet this, a debtor might sometimes pay his debt in money instead of tobacco, if it pleased him, and in special contracts at home, the farmers might fix the prices of tobacco for themselves. Having but one article of foreign export, the colonists made the most of that; they constituted a currency of it, and by a system of contrivances made its value fluctuate with the foreign price of tobacco, and virtually with the state of foreign exchanges themselves. The quantity could not be well increased, without a corresponding increase of the production of actual values in the shape of tobacco, nor could it be diminished without a like falling off in the supply of the article, on which it was based.

As compared with the attempts of the other colonies to issue paper based upon credit, or, indeed, with some more modern and scientific attempts to create a paper money, how infinitely superior is this early contrivance of the old Virginians! Upon this subject, the testimony of Bancroft is not less eloquent than true.\*

Vanban, the celebrated engineer, who was a financier also, is said to have addressed a memoir to Louis XIV, to

\* Bancroft, vol. III, p. 39. For a series of acts on the subject of tobacco as a currency, see 1st Hening, 152, 190, 204, 209 to 213, establishing warehouses, 216, 206. Ibid, V, p. 168, allowing persons not raising tobacco to pay in money. Hening, VI, 159, 225, no crop notes of older date than eighteen months, a legal tender. 568, to allow tobacco debts to be paid in money for that year. 7th Hening, 240, debtors paying in money or tobacco at their option, for that year. Such acts seem to have been frequently passed, but for a limited time only. 1st Hening, 210, 211, allowing parties to fix prices by contract by domestic trade.

recommend that a portion of the taxes should be laid in kind, because the people could bear much greater burthens in that way, than in any other, and if the object was to extort as much as possible from the people for the use of government, he was probably right. The early history of Virginia would seem to prove it, for no people of the same number and means have probably ever contributed so much to government with so little inconvenience to themselves. As I have said before, the whole policy of Virginia was mainly founded on a reliance on individual energies, which were fostered by more than an usual share of individual liberty. It is an old subject of complaint with those who have written upon Virginia affairs, that the Virginians devoted themselves too exclusively to agriculture and individual enterprises. Beverly reproaches them with their want of "cohabitation" and towns; if such was their want, it was no fault of theirs, for their general assembly made all the attempts to foster trade and industry, which were suggested by the views of political economy prevalent at that time.

In 1642, they declared "freedom of trade to be the blood and life of a commonwealth."\* The history of our colonial legislation is replete with acts to encourage the establishment of towns. As early as 1657, the legislature offered premiums for the production of silk, flax and staple commodities.† "Adventurers in iron works" were stimulated by exemption from taxation, and other privileges.‡ Acts were passed at various times to encourage the production of wine and silk. The State itself sometimes embarked in these undertakings, as in the manufacture of salt in 1776.|| Sometimes individuals raised money by subscription, and the State appointed trustees to receive and distribute the money in premiums

\* 1 Hening, p. 233. † Ibid, I, 469. ‡ Ibid, IV, 328. || Ibid, IX, 123.

for the production of certain commodities.\* And yet the various forms of social industry did not thrive in Virginia. The genius and mission of the people were for other objects. In the north-eastern British colonies, they looked more to the forms of association for the means of development. Settled originally as a church, and so governed, society was invested with large powers over individual action; social strength and privileges were the great objects of their culture, and social industry, in its various forms, received a large and early development. But natural taste, and the circumstances in which she was placed, gave to Virginia enterprise another direction. She became the *pioneer colony* amongst all the British provinces. "Like Massachusetts, Virginia was the mother of a cluster of States."† She sent exploring parties into Carolina, with a promise of a fourteen years' monopoly of the profits; and such expeditions she continued to send both to the south and to the west, but mainly to the west. Upon the remotest confines of the white settlement westward, the smoke of the Virginian's cabin ascended, and in the farthest fastness of the forest, or wildest gorge of the mountains, the crack of his rifle was heard. Upon the hunting grounds of the Six Nations and the Cherokees, he was known and feared as "the long knife;" with the axe and the rifle, he made good his advance into the wilderness. Felling the forest, and driving the Indians before him in the course of his progress, he made the settlements upon which new states were afterward to be founded. Never turning her regards from the Mississippi, after they had been once directed to that quarter by her governor, Spotswood, Virginia pursued the dream of western empire with a determination which nothing could shake.

\* 7 Hening, p. 288 and 563. † Bancroft, vol. II, p. 133.

As I said before, when the French made their appearance before Fort Du Quesne, it was Virginia who first demanded the cause of their coming. It was she who, at the Great Meadows, opened the first fire in the French and Indian war, and who, with all her aversion to paper money, for the first time conquered it upon that occasion, and strained her credit to the utmost to raise funds for the prosecution of that war. One of the first roads to which she ever contributed money directly, a small sum it is true, was to connect the north branch of the Potomac with the Ohio at Fort Pitt, and the preamble of the act declares this to be done both for military and commercial purposes.\* And all the perils of the great revolutionary struggle, in which she bore a part as conspicuous and difficult as any, she was still faithful to the great aspirations which so long had guided her. The early history of Kentucky, which is our history, shows that the people of that country, then a part of Virginia, with such aid as the State could afford, without assistance from any other quarter whatever, made good our possession of the country upon the Ohio, in a series of heroic struggles, whose interest was so deep, and often so tragic, that they seem to wear the air more of fiction than of fact. The Six Nations were the most warlike of all the Indian tribes, and Kentucky their favorite hunting ground, they contested with more than their wonted energy. And yet on this "dark and bloody ground," did Virginia extend her settlements, in the fiercest period of the revolutionary conflict, and engage in one long struggle, not only for freedom, but for empire, from the shores of the Atlantic to the waters of the Ohio and the Mississippi itself.

In 1711, when Spotswood, the ablest of Virginia governors, proposed to strike at the French settlement of

\* 8th Hening, p. 252.

Kaskaskia,\* by the incorporation of a Virginia trading company, he was ahead of his time. The western boundary of Virginia settlement was then about the Blue Ridge, and hundreds of miles of wilderness formed an obstacle too great to be surmounted by such a power as she could wield. She could, and did, bide her time. In 1744, she acquired by treaty the Indian title over the basin of Ohio,† and by 1778, she was seated on that river. George Rogers Clark, one of her greatest sons, and who for native military genius must rank amongst the distinguished men of the world, renewed the idea of governor Spotswood. Then Kaskaskia, as before Fort Du Quesne, was the centre from which Indian incursions were directed upon the Virginia settlements. His comprehensive and active mind, enabled him not only to appreciate the military value of the post, but to suggest the means by which it was to be conquered. The general assembly of Virginia lent him a ready and willing ear, and in 1778, a regiment of State troops for the service of the western frontier, was raised, and placed under the command of Clark. In all the annals of successful military enterprises, none are more surprising than this; with two or three hundred men he prepared to attack the town of Kaskaskia, separated by a vast wilderness from the nearest Virginia settlement, and containing as many houses as he had men, and garrisoned by British troops, who could command the support of warlike and populous Indian tribes. The only hope of success depended upon surprising the enemy, and, in the face of every difficulty, he managed to do it. Breaking through forests, and wading through ponds, he marched two days after his provisions were exhausted, and appeared before the town

\* Bancroft, III, 345.

† Ibid, III, 455.

at night. "Not a scattering Indian had espied his march, not a roving hunter had seen his trail."\*

So complete was the surprise, that the town fell without a struggle. The British were still so superior in point of forces, that Hamilton, who commanded at Vincennes, upon the Wabash, took his time for organizing a scheme for not only driving him from Kaskaskia, but for cutting off the settlements on the Ohio up to Fort Pitt. So secure was he in the consciousness of his superior strength, that he dispatched his Indian auxiliaries to harass the frontiers of Kentucky, whilst he remained in garrison with his regulars, to commence operations upon an extensive scale, after the close of the approaching winter. But in the very depth of winter, Clark, at the head of one hundred and thirty men, emerged from the swamps, through which he had marched for five days, and for the last five miles with the water up to their hearts," † surprised the fort, and captured it with the garrison and stores. Marshall well says: "These expeditions of Col. Clarke were highly important, and beneficial in their consequences. They broke and deranged the plan of operations intended to pour destruction upon the whole population west of the Alleghany mountains; they detached from the British interest several of the Indian tribes south of the Great Lakes; their influence in Kentucky was immediate, extensive and salutary. And in all probability, they contributed essentially to fix the limits of the United States ultimately by the Mississippi; as those of Virginia were extended to that river immediately after one of these conquests." ‡ That Virginia herself estimated her western possessions at their proper value, is proved by the exertions she made to preserve them. Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to General Washington, tells him that "Virginia is

\* Marshall's Hist. Kentucky, vol. I, p. 68. † See letter G. R. Clarke, vol. I, p. 451.

‡ Marshall's Hist. Kentucky, vol. I, p. 71.

obliged to keep on duty from five to six hundred men in the defence of the western settlements at a great and perpetual expense;”\* and in another letter, to the same person in 1781, he says that “she is obliged to embody between two and three thousand men in that quarter.”† This, too, was at the time when the British, under Arnold, had invaded the State, and when the larger portion of her forces were with the southern army.

Nor did Virginia forget the interests of the territory, thus painfully preserved from the British grasp after the treaty of peace. Evidences of the zeal and energy with which she struggled to maintain her right to the navigation of the Mississippi, are to be found in Mr. Madison’s correspondence, as published in his works, and Marshall’s History of Kentucky. And yet, again, by an act as magnanimous as can be found in the history of any people, she ceded away to the United States this immense territory, almost without any consideration, other than that of the benefit to be derived by the people who were to settle in it, and the general welfare of the Confederacy. Nor would the act have been unwise, if it had not been for the fatal provision, which excluded her own sons from an equal participation in the advantages of settling that country.

In the course of this narrative of her relations to the western country, I have said but little of the part she bore in the Revolutionary War. This was so conspicuous as to be familiar to all. My object has been to trace the social system of Virginia to its elements, to show its origin, and point out the circumstances under which it grew and prospered. The great principle of a division of honor amongst connected jurisdictions, so as to secure the responsibility of interests for the just action of each, has nowhere been presented so surely and so fully as in this

\* 1st Jeff. 185. † Ibid vol. I, 222.

State, and nowhere else has the action of government itself, at so early a period, been so proudly based upon individual liberty and energy as in Virginia. This is the key which will explain the nature of the part she bore in the revolution, and also the early preferences she displayed for the principle of confederation over that of consolidation. So well had Virginia been trained in this system of government, that the dissolution of the old form, and the disappearance of the governor in 1775, scarcely made a breach in her proceedings. To the machinery of committees of safety the convention of Virginia gave at once a distinct organization. "A general committee of safety, was appointed by the convention, which was invested with the supreme executive powers of government. County committees were elected by the free-holders of the several counties and corporations, from which district committees were deputed. On these committees devolved the appointment of the captains and subaltern officers of the regulars and minute-men, and the general superintendence of the recruiting service."\*

The origination of committees of correspondence between the legislatures of the different States, which partially led to the first Continental Congress, belongs, as Mr. Jefferson informs us, to Virginia.† By her delegates, too, was the resolution for the declaration of independence first moved in the Continental Congress in 1776,‡ and by her own distinguished son was that immortal document drawn. Of her may be said, what, perhaps, can be said of none of the other States, that there was no important theatre of military operations, and after Bunker Hill, no important battle, in which her blood did not freely flow. From the heights of Abram and Boston, in the north, to Charleston and Augusta, in the south, and from German-

\* 9th Hening, Preface. † Jeff. vol. I, pp. 4 and 94. ‡ Ibid vol. I, p. 94.

town and Yorktown, in the east, to Vincennes and Kaskaskia, in the west, her sons were everywhere in the field. In 1780, Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to Gen. Washington, says: "The number ordered from this State into the northern service are about seven thousand. I trust we may count that fifty-five hundred will actually proceed."\* In a report, made at the first session of the twenty-eighth congress by the Hon. E. W. Hubard of our own State, it is proved that Virginia furnished sixteen continental regiments, besides Lee's light armed corps, and Bland's regiment of cavalry, and also seven State regiments, and a State navy numbering 1,500 men.† Mr. Jefferson, in an application to Gen. Washington for a loan of some supplies from Fort Pitt for an expedition which Virginia meditated against Detroit, says: "We think the like friendly office performed by us to the States, whenever desired, and almost to the absolute exhaustion of our own magazines, give well founded hopes that we may be accommodated on this occasion. The supplies of military stores which have been furnished by us to Fort Pitt itself, to the northern army, and most of all to the southern, are not altogether unknown to you."‡

Again, in speaking of the unarmed condition of the militia, he says: "Yet if they (Congress) would repay us the arms we have lent them, we should give the enemy trouble, though abandoned to ourselves."|| In the whole of this great and difficult contest, I believe there is no taint of selfishness, or illiberality, to be found in the conduct of Virginia. Her escutcheon was borne by her sons through that fiery ordeal unstained by aught save the blood of the battle-field, or the smoke of the fight. Hers, too, was that son, of whom it was so justly said, after the scenes of his life were closed, that he had been "first in

\* Jeff. vol. I, p. 184. † Rep. p. 94. ‡ Jeff. vol. I, p. 199. || Ibid, p. 210.

war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." Is it just to such men that so much of their story should be lost to mankind? These men undoubtedly had a proper regard to fame. Were they not entitled to it? Shall it be lost, from the want of pious care on the part of their descendants to preserve the evidences, and set up the monuments of their title to the love and respect of their race? And how much have we not already lost? The whole story of our State navy is now gone; it is not known even to tradition. And yet, I myself, once heard Commodore Barron, who was a midshipman in that service, relate some incidents in its career so stirring, and give so many reasons for deplored the loss of its history, as must make me ever regret that my countrymen should have been so insensible to the value of their own story, as neither to have written it themselves, nor even preserved the materials for another to do it for them. The tombs of our revolutionary fathers lie thick around us, but the faithful chisel, or the pious care, is wanting to renew the inscriptions, or remove the rank grass, which hides them from the eyes of man, for which alone it was intended. The fame of good and great deeds, even though it be inherited, is of no small value; it opens for us a readier access to the confidence of others, and creates within ourselves a new incitement to virtue. How is such an inheritance to be preserved without the aid of history?

I know that this is the age of material development; never has man dealt so largely or so intimately with matter as now; never has he exerted such powers to control it; never have his physical comforts or material resources been so great. But is there no danger that, in our aspirations after material wealth and power, we shall forget what is more priceless still, moral elevation and grandeur? It is much to improve the country, but more to improve

the people. To afford new incitements to honor and virtue by wise and eloquent precept, or by what is still more persuasive, high example; to win as a people the trophies of fame; to store up in the national repositories of thought ideas which can serve to instruct and delight mankind; these, after all, are the achievements which tell most upon the page of history, and these constitute the only imperishable wealth of a nation. But if we have no history, what can its pages tell of us, or for us? We must learn by the light of others, and live by the examples which they may give us. Without a history of our own, we can expect neither unity nor consistency of national character, we may hope for no system of culture properly our own, we cannot maintain even a just self-respect, nor have we a right to expect from our sons a high ambition or noble aspirations. They may spring up *autochthones* in the soil, but they must grow as they spring, unaided by our hand, for we refuse even a memorial to the man who may fall in our service. As I understand it, Mr. President, it is to prevent such a want of history, as would, indeed, be a reproach to our people, that your society has been organized, and is laboring; and I now appear before you to call public attention, as far as I am able, to the great value and importance of your pursuits. Let it not be said, that while the whole world is alive to matters of historical interest, we alone should be dead to the importance of our own story, and insensible to the duty we owe to those who have preceded us, and those who will succeed us, to guard and preserve its materials at least. But throwing out of view all consideration of duty, is there nothing attractive in the study of Virginia history itself? Is there nothing in the strange scenes of warfare and adventure, through which the settlements extended from the shores of the Chesapeake to those of the Ohio and Mississippi, to stir the blood, or

kindle the glow of sympathetic feeling? Is there no interest in the wild march of the pioneer, who led the advance of this line of settlement, finding a friend and a home wherever he might have companionship with nature; whose aspects were as familiar to him in her deepest solitudes, or least accessible retreats, as when she smiled most pleasantly upon the usual abodes of man?

Who would not recall, if he could, the lost traditions of that bold spirit, who willingly staked existence itself upon any venture, no matter how desperate or wild, if it promised to gratify his peculiar tastes, and casting all fear behind him, penetrated the very depths of the wilderness, where he could only hold his life upon the double condition of pursuing his game, and eluding the savage by a woodcraft, and a courage superior to his own? Undoubtedly the day will come, when the little that is left of this history, will be sought after with the most eager curiosity, and become a favorite object of antiquarian research. To collect its stray sybilline leaves will yet be a labor of love. Even now, I think, I shall find many to agree with me in the opinion that the institutions and civil deeds of the old fathers of our State, well deserve the study and commemoration of her sons.

These were, indeed, such men as had no need to ask for more than to be fairly known, and who might truly say:

“After my death I wish no other herald,  
No other speaker of my living actions,  
To keep mine honor from corruption,  
But such an honest chronicler as Griffith.”

You may have observed, Mr. President, that in the course of my brief review of a portion of Virginia history, I have said nothing of the period since the adoption of the present federal constitution. To have done so

would have extended this address beyond its proper limits, and involved topics whose discussion might disturb the party feelings of the day. My object has been to develop the *moral*, and unity of our history, and to present it in such a point of view as should be above and beyond party considerations and influences. For that purpose, I have shown how our ancestors, through succeeding generations, labored for the great end of so adjusting the social and particular interests of man, as to give the largest amount of individual liberty and power, which might be consistent with the necessary protection of a regularly organized society. Indeed, with some, it has been a matter of reproach to Virginia, that in the pursuit of this end, she sacrificed too many of the elements of social strength and wealth. But the fruits of this system are to be found in the individual excellence which it developed, and the number of great men that it produced, during the period of which I have been treating, and through which the State adhered to it most exclusively. I think, too, I have shown, that during this time, her social achievements were such as would have done honor to any people of the same number and means, in any era, or part of the world. If Lord Bacon was right in saying that the "plantations of new countries are amongst the primitive and most heroic works of man," then surely Virginia is entitled to a high place in the order of human achievement. Until the time of the American experiment in government, the efforts of statesmen, and the refinements of their skill, seem to have been wholly directed to the ends of social strength and progress. With that experiment commenced the first great forward movement in favor of individual liberty, and the most successful form of political organization for making that development compatible with social strength and order. Amongst the leaders in this movement, if not at its head, Virginia is entitled to be ranked,

and when she takes her appropriate place in the great Pantheon of History, there shall ascend from her altars, not the smoke from the blood of her victims, but the grateful incense of the noblest of human aspirations, those of the soul, after a larger liberty of self-development, and a wider range in the boundless domain of thought. In the great Epos of Humanity we see nation after nation seizing the torch of civilization as it passes to the head of the column to lead the advance in the mighty march of our race. In the struggle for mastery, some faint and some fall by the wayside. Nationalities decay, and the forms of their institutions pass away, but each, ere it leaves the scene, bequeaths its great and characteristic thought as an everlasting possession to man. Beneath the very ashes of their decay lives a fire whose light is as imperishable as truth itself, and which is capable of transmission from generation to generation, so long as the human mind exists to afford the subject to feed the sacred flame. Some leave a new light, and others inspire a higher hope to guide or to animate the march of humanity. When we look thus to the achievements of others, and reckon up the legacies of immortal thought bequeathed by the past to the present, is it extravagant to hope that Virginia, too, may contribute her idea whose type may be found hereafter in some new stage of human progress. It is a pious wish, and for one I dare to indulge it.

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THE PLAN  
OF THE  
VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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The main object of this Society is to collect, preserve, and diffuse information relating to the History of Virginia, past and current, from the earliest times to the present day.

In pursuing this object, the Executive Committee have opened a large and convenient room in the Athenæum, in which they have placed the Library, and a Cabinet of Curiosities illustrative of the Natural and Civil History of the State; and which is open to the Members, and others properly introduced by them, during stated hours.

They have also authorized their Secretary to publish a small Journal, entitled the Virginia Historical Reporter, (this work,) and they further propose to publish a yearly volume of Historical Collections, which will be arranged in chronological order, and entitled the Annals of Virginia, as soon as funds can be obtained for the purpose.

To support this establishment and service, the Members of the Society contribute either fifty dollars for life, or five dollars a year, during their membership, which they can terminate when they please; and they receive both publications, this Reporter, and the yearly volume, (if published,) without charge.

The sums contributed for life memberships are vested in State Stock, and constitute a Permanent Fund, the accruing interest of which alone is used by the Committee.

All persons who may be disposed to aid the Society, or the Committee, in the prosecution of their useful and patriotic engagement, by becoming members, or otherwise, are requested to send in their names, and contributions, to the subscriber.

WM. MAXWELL,  
*Secretary and General Agent.*

## ADVERTISEMENT.

### THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL REGISTER.

This work is now completed, and comprises in its leading articles a number of valuable memorials, or partial accounts of particular portions of the History of our State, from the earliest period to the close of our revolutionary war, collected from various sources, and now brought together for the first time. It embraces also a number of original letters of General Washington, Richard Henry Lee, George Mason, and others, hitherto inedited; with various other documents—all calculated to shed new light on our annals. And lastly it contains a variety of biographical notices, and other short articles which serve to relieve, and still, for the most part, contribute to illustrate the main subject of the work.

WM. MAXWELL.

*Richmond, March 1, 1854.*

☞ We have only a few complete sets of this work to dispose of, which may be had at our office on the following terms:

A single set in 3 double volumes, in paper,      \$5 00  
Do. in three double volumes, neatly half-bound,      6 00

☞ Orders from the country enclosing the price, will be attended to, and the books forwarded, by mail, or otherwise, as may be directed.      W. M.

THE  
VIRGINIA HISTORICAL REPORTER,  
CONDUCTED BY THE  
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
OF THE  
VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME I—PART III.

RICHMOND:  
PRINTED FOR THE COMMITTEE,  
BY WILLIAM H. CLEMMITT.

1856.



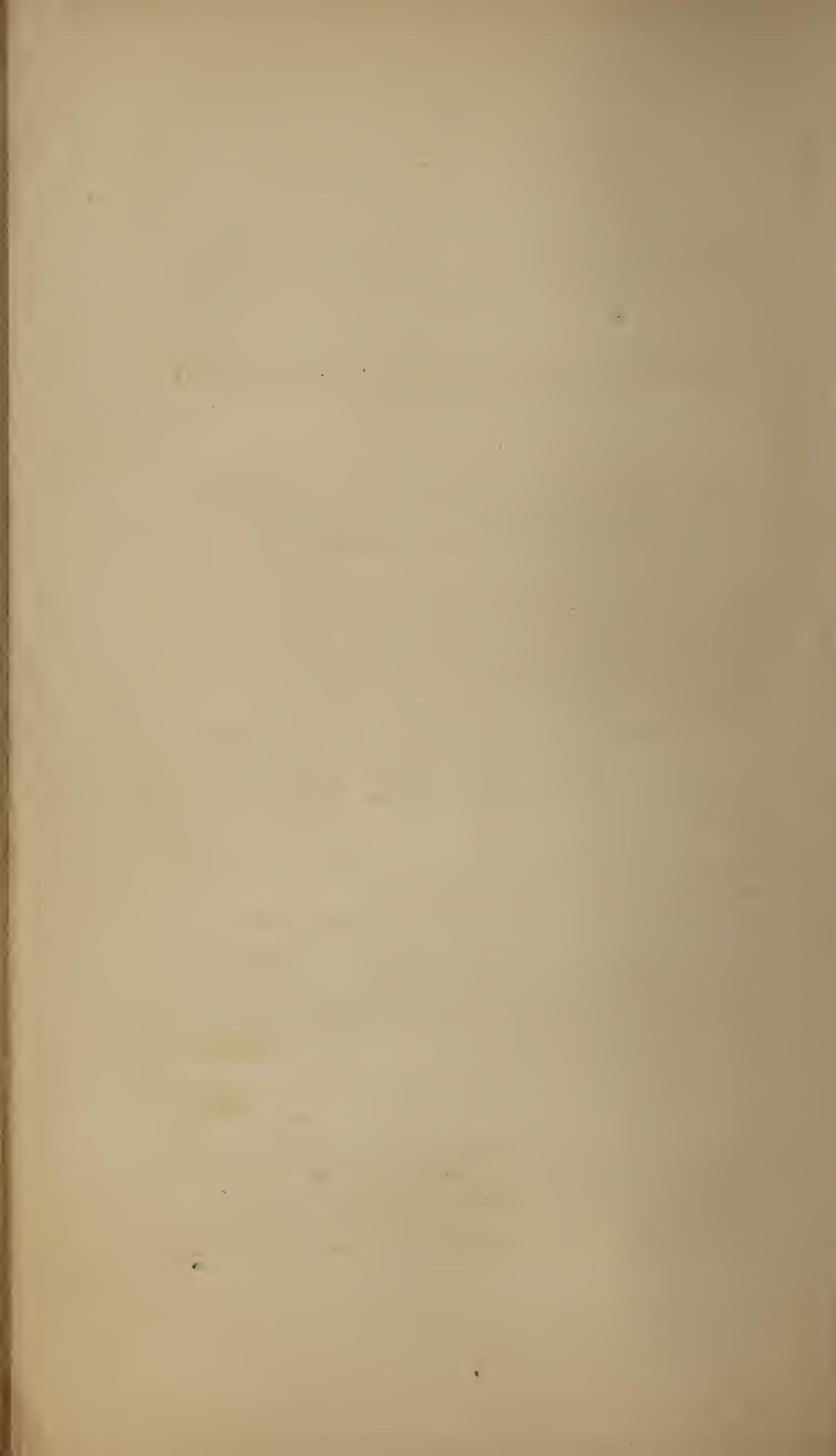
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THE  
VIRGINIA HISTORICAL REPORTER.

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THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY:  
THE NINTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The Ninth Annual Meeting of the Virginia Historical Society was held in the Hall of the Athenæum, on Thursday evening, January 17th, and was very well attended.

The President of the Society, the Hon. Wm. C. Rives, took the chair and presided on the occasion.

Andrew Johnston, Esq., Recording Secretary, in the absence of Conway Robinson, Esq., Chairman of the Executive Committee, read the Report of the Executive Committee, which was well received.

After these proceedings, James P. Holcombe, Esq., of the University of Virginia, read an eloquent and interesting discourse, containing Sketches of the Political Issues and Controversies of the Revolution, which gave great satisfaction to all present.

On motion of Wm. H. Macfarland, Esq., the following resolution was adopted:

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Society be, and they are hereby presented to James P. Holcombe, Esq., for his eloquent and interesting discourse delivered this evening; and that he be requested to furnish a copy of it to the Executive Committee, for preservation in the

archives, and for publication in such manner as they shall order and direct.

The following gentlemen were elected officers of the Society for the ensuing year:

HON. WM. C. RIVES, *President.*

HON. JAMES M. MASON,  
WM. H. MACFARLAND, ESQ. } *Vice Presidents.*

HON. JOHN Y. MASON,

WM. MAXWELL, *Cor. Secretary and Librarian.*

ANDREW JOHNSTON, *Recording Secretary.*

JAQUELIN P. TAYLOR, *Treasurer.*

The following gentlemen were elected Honorary Members of the Society:

PROFESSOR RICHARD HENRY LEE, Washington College,  
Pennsylvania.

LIEUT. MATHEW T. MAURY, Washington City.

The following gentlemen were appointed the Executive Committee for the ensuing year:

CONWAY ROBINSON, *Chairman,* CHARLES CARTER LEE,

GUSTAVUS A. MYERS, ARTHUR A. MORSON,

THOMAS T. GILES, THOMAS H. ELLIS,

GEORGE W. RANDOLPH.

The Officers of the Society are, *ex-officio*, members of the Executive Committee.

## THE COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

*Report made to the Virginia Historical Society by its Executive Committee, at the Annual meeting in January, 1856.*

We are pleased to have it in our power to inform the Society, that the sub-committee [consisting of Messrs. Randolph, Giles and Ellis,] have made so manifest the propriety of the action asked of the General Assembly, under the resolution adopted by the Society at its meeting in December, 1854—that the Senate has during the present winter, passed a bill making an appropriation to the Society of \$1,000 a year, for five years, to enable it to procure from England copies of manuscripts relating to the early history of this State, and to prosecute its publication of the early voyages to America, and the annals of Virginia. If this bill shall become a law, our arrangements are such, that without incurring the expense of sending an agent to England we shall be enabled to obtain and make use of interesting manuscripts now ascertained to be at London, in the State paper office. We should publish in one year from the passage of the act, an account of the voyages to the Atlantic coast of North America, from 1573 to 1606, including in this period several letters to Sir Francis Walsingham, written by Ralph Lane, in August and September, 1585, from what was then called Virginia; and within two years from the passage of the act, we should publish the first volume of Annals of Virginia, coming down to 1619 and giving a full report of the proceedings in that year of the first General Assembly on this continent. Of the particulars that passed at this assembly, nothing is to be found in Mr. Hening's collection of the statutes, nor in the volume

of *Stith*, or of any one who has yet undertaken to write the history of Virginia. We can show how that assembly was organized, and what it did—its resolutions and acts or ordinances—and give the names of the two burgesses for each incorporation and plantation. The author of the Declaration of Independence would have been pleased to know that one of the burgesses in 1619 for Flowerdiu Hundred bore the name of *Jefferson*. Letters written from Virginia in 1622, by *George Harrison*, will be interesting to others, as well as the *Harrisons* of Brandon and of Berkeley. Yet they have hitherto been ignorant of the existence of such letters, as the sage of Montpelier was of the fact that Capt. *Isaac Madison* and Mrs. *Mary Madison* were in the colony in 1623. Many there may be who will be interested in the names of those living in Virginia in February, 1623, and the list of the dead; and the complete muster or census of the inhabitants in 1624—a paper embracing 103 pages. No Virginian should be willing to let such documents as these bearing essentially on the history of his State, continue to depend on the frail duration of a single piece of paper, and that in a foreign land. We desire to obtain them, and, by publication, to preserve them, and in our publications, to introduce matter obtained from the proceedings of the old Virginia company, and from the records of our State, and other sources hitherto imperfectly explored. Time and labor are necessary to do what we contemplate; but these we shall freely give, without any other reward than such as may arise from doing that which the good name- and credit of the State forbid should be left undone.

Let it not be supposed, however, that our thoughts are confined to the old colonial times; they are no less given to the early days of the Republic. The great men of

those days are entitled to a lasting remembrance. If one of Virginia's sons has written the life of George Washington, and another the life of Thomas Jefferson, none has yet written the life of James Madison. Considering this a work lofty enough for any man, and especially suitable for the President of this Society, the committee, in June last, resolved that the President be earnestly requested to undertake this work and to devote to it as large a portion of his time as may be practicable; the committee being well satisfied that its accomplishments will alike conduce to his honor and redound to the credit of our State and country. We are gratified that we are enabled to inform the Society of the response made by the President to this resolution. Appreciating the exalted merits of the great character, whose serene wisdom, embodied in the noblest structure of government which the genius of man ever devised, will long continue, it is devoutly hoped, to shed blessings and lustre on his native State, as well as the whole Union, the President declares that no exertions of his shall be wanting, according to the leisure and opportunities he may have, to collect and preserve suitable memorials of his life, services, talents and virtues, which, as his own rare and exemplary modesty, never permitted him to trumpet, it is the more incumbent on a just and grateful posterity to honor and commemorate.

Others also, besides Mr. Madison, are worthy of commemoration in connection with the early Virginia Conventions. The Convention of 1776 was the subject of a discourse delivered in July last by Hugh Blair Grigsby, Esq., before the Virginia Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, in the chapel of William and Mary college. Between that period and the Convention of 1829-'30, upon which, also, Mr. Grigsby has furnished a valuable

discourse, there was another important Convention in this State,—that of 1788, called to deliberate upon the change of government then proposed by the Federal Convention,—which seemed to the Committee every way fit to engage Mr. Grigsby's thoughts and time. A resolution has therefore been adopted, requesting him to devote as much of his time as may be convenient, to the preparation of a discourse upon this Convention, and to deliver the same before the Society at a future meeting. This task, we are glad to say, Mr. Grigsby has undertaken to perform.

Our collection of paintings has had a valuable addition during the past year in the presentation, by Jaquelin P. Taylor, Esq., of a portrait of Edmund Pendleton, the first President of the Court of Appeals of Virginia, painted by Thomas Sully of Philadelphia, from a miniature which Judge Pendleton had taken of himself and gave to Mr. Taylor's mother. We have reason to anticipate, that before another year shall have passed away, five copies of the portraits of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Marshall, will adorn our room. Valuable as the portraits of such men are in our day, they will be far more valued in a future age.

In the journal of our proceedings for the past year, is recorded the fact that George N. Johnson, Esq., the Treasurer of this Society, died suddenly on the night of the 29th of March last. This event spread a gloom over our whole city. Our departed friend was beloved for his many virtues; our sentiments for him while he lived, were those of the strongest esteem and regard, and, now that death has taken him from us, we cannot but feel the highest respect for his memory. In conclusion, it only remains to say, that the duty being devolved on the committee of proceeding to fill the vacancy thus caused in the

office of Treasurer, Jaquelin P. Taylor, Esq., was unanimously appointed to the office, and has accepted the appointment and acted *ex-officio* as a member of the committee.

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## DONATIONS.

*List of Books and Paintings presented to the Society during the past year.*

Smithsonian Contributions to Human Knowledge during the current year, 2 vols. quarto; by the Institution.

Lord Mahon's History of England, 2 vols. octavo, Appleton's edition; by Wm. H. Macfarland, Esq., of Richmond.

The U. S. Naval Astronomical Expedition to the Southern Hemisphere; by Lieut. J. M. Gillies, U. S. N.

A Discourse on the Convention of 1776, delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of William and Mary College, by Hugh Blair Grigsby, Esq.; by the author.

A Portrait of Edmund Pendleton; presented by Jaquelin P. Taylor, Esq., of Richmond.

CONSTITUTION  
OF THE  
VIRGINIA HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL  
SOCIETY.

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1. The principal object of the Society shall be to collect and preserve whatever relates to the History of Virginia in particular, and of the United States in general.

2. The Society shall consist of Resident, Corresponding and Honorary Members. Resident Members shall be persons residing in the city of Richmond, or elsewhere in the State. Corresponding and Honorary Members may be persons residing any where, either in or out of the State; and not more than ten Honorary Members shall be elected in any one year.

3. The officers of the Society, to be elected annually and by ballot, shall be a President, a first Vice President, a second Vice President, a third Vice President, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, and a Librarian. The offices of the two Secretaries and Librarian may be conferred upon the same person whenever it shall be deemed expedient to unite them. These officers, together with seven other members to be appointed by such of them as shall be in Richmond at the annual election, or by a majority of them, shall constitute a committee to be called the Executive Committee, who shall appoint their own chairman, and have power to fill any vacancy that may occur in their own body.

4. The officers of the Society and other members of the Executive Committee shall continue in office until their successors shall be elected and appointed.

5. The duties of the several officers shall be those which are usually exercised by such officers respectively, and may be more particularly defined in the By-laws established by the Executive Committee.

6. The Executive Committee shall have full power to appoint or call meetings of the Society; to ordain and establish such By-laws as they shall deem necessary and proper; and in general to do all things which they shall judge expedient to secure the objects of the Society, and promote its general welfare in all respects. They shall have power also to appoint corresponding members of the Society. Any five members of the Committee shall constitute a quorum.

7. Resident members shall pay five dollars on their admission, and five dollars every subsequent year; or, in lieu thereof, fifty dollars as a commutation for all the regular fees and dues for life. And every member who shall have regularly paid the annual fees and dues for fifteen years, shall thereafter be a life member. But if any resident member, other than a life member, shall fail to pay the said annual fees and dues for two years, or at any time shall refuse to pay the same, he shall forfeit all the rights and privileges of membership, and the Executive Committee shall cause his name to be erased from the list of members.

8. The annual meeting of the Society, for the election of officers and other purposes, shall be held on the second Thursday in December, in the Hall of the House of Delegates, (with the consent of the House,) or at such other time and place as the Executive Committee shall order and direct; and at the said annual meeting there

shall be a suitable address by the President, and an oration or discourse by some other member, to be appointed by the Executive Committee to perform that office on the occasion.

9. Resident and Honorary Members shall be elected as follows: they shall be proposed to the Executive Committee, recommended by that Committee, and elected by the Society by ballot. The votes of three-fourths of the members present, in favor of any person, shall be necessary to elect him.

10. The Constitution may be amended as follows: the expediency of every proposed amendment, shall be considered by the Executive Committee, and reported upon by that Committee; the vote of three-fourths of the members present at any meeting of the Society, in favor of any amendment, shall be necessary to its adoption.

11. At all meetings of the society, ten members shall constitute a quorum.

S K E T C H E S  
OF THE  
*Political Issues and Controversies*  
OF THE REVOLUTION:  
A DISCOURSE

DELIVERED BEFORE THE  
VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
AT THEIR  
NINTH ANNUAL MEETING,

JANUARY 17, 1856.

BY JAMES P. HOLCOMBE.

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

RICHMOND:  
WILLIAM H. CLEMMITT, PRINTER.  
1856.

(C)



## DISCOURSE.

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*Mr. President and Gentlemen  
of the Virginia Historical Society:*

In looking around me for a subject appropriate to your anniversary, and not grown stale by infinite repetition, I thought that I could discover a vintage whose fruit was not all gathered, in what may be termed the Political Literature of the revolutionary era. Every form of intellectual communication, whether history or novel, song or oration, has been exhausted in making familiar to the popular mind the stirring incidents by flood and field of that great struggle; but the speeches, the essays, the state papers which produced, expressed and vindicated the previous revolution in public sentiment and feeling, have been consigned to relative obscurity. The heroes who fought the battles of independence are not more worthy of the perpetual benedictions of freemen, than the statesmen who first convinced the people of the danger to their liberty, and roused a spirit equal to its defence. "The times that tried men's souls" were not those only in which our broken army was fleeing before the enemy in disorderly fragments, and the patriots of America were reposing on the great qualities of Washington as their most solid pillar of hope. There was an antecedent period when clouds, shadows and darkness rested on the path of duty, and in which the finest genius

and learning of the colonies, disdaining the arts of menace and seduction used to corrupt them, consecrated the resources of reason, and ridicule, and eloquence to an un-trembling defence of colonial rights. Indeed, the lofty courage which guided our noble army of martyrs to bloody beds of glory, was lighted from altar-fires of patriotism, kindled by the great flames of Henry, and Otis, and Rutledge. The conquests of arms are only enduring when they establish the conquests of reason and justice. The trophies from which we would ordinarily turn with averted gaze, as from monuments of death, then awaken in our bosoms the purest emotions of public virtue. When we pause before those historical paintings which adorn the great hall of our national capitol, it is well that the eye can take in at a glance the surrender at York-town, and the Declaration of Independence; for that crowning triumph of American valor, around which exultant patriotism will ever love to linger, derives all its lustre from the earlier and grander victory of peace. In the course of some sketches of the political issues and controversies of this period, I propose to pay a passing tribute of grateful commemoration to the orators, the essayists, and the statesmen, who, for the ten years which preceded the appeal to arms, marched in the van of the revolution; and who fought its battles of opinion with such signal success, that thirteen colonies divided from each other by industrial pursuits, social habits, religious prejudices, and historical traditions were brought into a sympathy and conjunction, as intimate as that in which the clustered children of Niobe offered one bosom to the vengeful arrows of their common foe.

It is essential to the unity and elevation of our national character, that from time to time we should review those epochs which constitute as it were the grand climacterics

of our history, and passing judgment upon the passions and principles they have in turns developed, incorporate with our moral and intellectual life, all of imperishable truth and sentiment to which they have given birth. Successive triumphs of liberal principles have marked our brief record with cheering and instructive points of contemplation. The discussions on public law, growing out of our last war with Great Britain, constitute the most valuable accessions which that science has received since the days of Grotius. The formation of our constitutions, state and federal, at an earlier date called forth a display of more learning, wisdom and practical experience in the administration of government, than ever before shed light on the vexed problems of statesmanship. But the period which challenges our consideration by the strongest claims, as first in time, in interest, and in importance, is that which began with the attempt to tax the colonies and closed with the Declaration of Independence, for it raised the question of slavery or freedom, and the origin and extent of those rights without whose recognition government might cease to be a blessing. I invite you to revisit with me this great moral height of our history, and to drink from the pure fountains, and breathe the refreshing airs of our ancient liberty.

It is obvious that a theme so extended as to occupy three volumes of the truly American History of Bancroft, could not be fully discussed in the limits of a single discourse. My own inclinations, according with what seemed the proprieties of the occasion, have therefore impelled me to select such of its bearings only, as involve the character and fame of Virginia, with a view of bringing out in the full relief of truth the extent of her participation in the public transactions of this memorable era. I have given this direction to my inquiries the

more readily, from having observed a disposition manifested of late, in certain quarters, to alter the historical perspective of the revolution, and to group and combine anew its leading events and prominent actors. I trust, sir, that I have no desire to magnify the merits and services of Virginia at the expense of justice to our sister states. The more thoroughly we investigate this deeply interesting period, the more apparent it becomes that the sons of liberty "pervaded by one equal impulse of heroic hearts," everywhere, "crowded in generous emulation, the narrow straits of honor." That no criticism which shall escape my lips, may receive an invidious construction, I would especially acknowledge that Massachusetts, pointing to the courage and fortitude with which she breasted the first shock of British power, may well divide with Virginia the honor of leading in this great struggle, and say to her, in the language of the dying York to his expiring brother in arms,

"In this glorious and well foughten field,  
We kept together in our chivalry."

Whilst it is my object to show that there is no line in the revolutionary history of Virginia which any of her sons should wish to blot, and whilst I shall maintain that she did more than any other colony to rouse a spirit of resistance to British aggression, to mark out the true line of principle upon which our rights were to be defended, and to terminate our political relations with the mother country when the measure of oppression was full, I shall only claim for her the happy fortune of having enjoyed peculiar opportunities of patriotism, and the immortal praise of having nobly improved them.

When the policy of raising a revenue from the colonies was first distinctly avowed in 1764, by the British minis-

try, the nation had reached a most critical period of its history. The government was oscillating between the maxims of liberty and the rules of arbitrary power. The vast increase of—royal revenue and patronage had provided the executive with a fund of corruption, more dangerous to the freedom of the constitution than the standing armies of the Stuarts. The discussions which soon afterwards occurred concerning the validity of seizures under general warrants, the power of Parliament over elections, the doctrine of constructive treason, and the functions of juries on criminal trials for libel, show how undefined were the boundary lines between liberty and prerogative. The House of Commons which formerly reflected an image of popular sentiment, had ceased to represent the liberal element of the constitution. Men familiar with the lessons of history, “who knew that Tiberius had accomplished with his Senate, what Nero was afraid to attempt with his guards,” expressed apprehensions lest the transition of the government into an absolute monarchy, predicted by Hume, should take place in their generation, and despotism be speedily enthroned in halls long consecrated to liberty. That England was preserved from a revolution, is to be mainly referred to two circumstances—the wonderful power developed by the press in this crisis of the constitution, and the retro-active effect of American resistance to the stamp act.

In America, owing to that combination of influences pointed out with such graphic fidelity by Burke, to descent, religion, laws, manners and institutions, especially that of slavery, the spirit of independence was at its height. The colonists had not “rent themselves in recollection from the stock of the parent state.” The sentiments and traditions of its most glorious ages which

had lost much of their original power at home, broke forth in the new world, an Arethusan stream, pure and fresh as when they gushed from revolutionary fountains. There was no court to drug into corrupt insensibility the watchful instincts of freedom, or to counteract by its talismanic spells the inspiration of a generous literature. The colonists derived their love of liberty as much from the spirit of English letters, as of English law. Their speculative opinions on the great questions of politics were formed in the school of Milton, and Sydney, and especially Locke. Although the germs of democratic sentiment thus deposited, were greatly developed and expanded by the circumstances of a society in which labor was relatively independent of capital, it is nevertheless easy to trace the moral and intellectual lineage of Otis, and Adams, and Jefferson, by the filial resemblance which their writings disclose to these early patriarchs of British liberty. That form of literature, it is also to be observed, which more than any other moulds the public sentiment of a people, viz, the poetical, had in England, since the days of Milton, been warmed and quickened by the pulses of reviving freedom. The poets of the existing and preceding generation, Addison whose Cato supplied almost every American speaker and essayist with a text or an illustration, Thomson, Goldsmith, Smollet, from whom Barre borrowed that noble phrase, "the sons of liberty," even Johnson, whose genius emancipated by the muse lifted up in poetry its native front of independence, were widely circulated amongst the colonists, and brought home to every cottage, grand swelling sentiments of liberty.

There were local causes operating with great force at this juncture, and exciting the public mind to a jealous scrutiny of parliamentary legislation. In New England

the apprehension of an Episcopate lent a keener edge to the sense of oppression induced by the burthens and restrictions of the manufacturing and navigation acts. The argument of Otis on writs of assistance in Massachusetts, of Smith and Livingston, in behalf of an independent colonial judiciary in New York, of Patrick Henry in the parsons' case in Virginia, of Rutledge, on the right of the House of Commons to judge of the qualifications of its members, in South Carolina, had stirred the popular heart to its depths, and awakened that spirit which afterwards flamed so high against the injustice of the mother country.

When the news reached the colonies of the alarming pretensions set up by the British ministry, in disregard of an unbroken usage of centuries, it drew forth remonstrance and petition from a number of the Assemblies. And here I must pause and do justice to the stand which was taken at this time by Virginia. Hildreth, the historian refers to the papers which emanated from her House of Burgesses, as "claiming the privilege of self-taxation: but as very moderate in tone. Instead of relying on the matter of right, they dwelt at length on the embarrassments and poverty of the province, encumbered by the late war with a heavy debt."\* The author of an elaborate article in the North American Review, for July, 1852, on Lord Mahon's History of England, either ignorant of the existence of these documents, or inferring their character from the description in Hildreth, attributes the impression produced by the Virginia Stamp Act resolutions of the succeeding year, to their expressing "the much desired adhesion of Virginia to the northern doctrine. Massachusetts, then the great northern colony

\* Hildreth's History of U. States, Vol. 2, 1st Ser. 524.

was safe for it long ago. The great southern colony, Virginia, now adopted it."\* Now, sir, it is unlikely that Virginia, where popular representation was first established on this continent, should have forgotten its objects and principles; or that the great right of exclusive taxation, for whose security she had exacted treaty stipulations in 1652, with arms in her hands, should have been less precious in 1764; or that the statesmen of a community in which there prevailed an opinion that the colonies were independent states, connected with England only by a common king,† should have "faintly protested" against this sweeping assumption of authority by the British Parliament. Nor would the patriots of Virginia, had they been at a loss for the principles to guide them in this emergency, have found it necessary to refer to Massachusetts for the doctrines of liberty. In the discussions between their own agent, and those of the crown, on an application for a charter in 1676, they would have discovered the earliest and most impressive assertion of colonial rights that is contained in the colonial records.‡ In the language of the historian, "Virginia was always a land of liberty."|| But the description of these papers by Hildreth is calculated to produce a false impression of their character. The Burgesses of Virginia were clear, explicit, and unanimous on this great question of constitutional right. The petition to the king, and the address to the House of Lords were written by Richard Henry Lee, who six months before the meeting of the assembly had denounced the scheme in the boldest language, and by a happy presentiment of patriotism, had declared that "this

\* See page 137.

† Burnaby's Travels in Virginia in 1759, published in Virg. Historical Register, Vol. 3, p. 89.

‡ Burke's History of Virginia, 3d Vol. 283.

|| Bancroft's History of U. S., Vol. 2, p. 255.

step, though intended to oppress and keep us low, might be subversive of that end, and might produce a fatal resentment of parental care being converted into tyrannical usurpation." The remonstrance to the House of Commons was drawn by George Wythe; and although "smoothed down from its original aspect of treason"<sup>\*</sup> to suit the tone of moderate members, and secure unanimity, is still marked by the spirit and principles of that ardent patriot. In the petition to the king, there is no allusion whatever to the embarrassment of the colony; in the address to the House of Lords, only a brief passing reference, in the remonstrance to the House of Commons, although this topic occupies a larger space, yet even there the prominent, as in the former the exclusive theme, is the "rights which would be infringed" by the contemplated procedure, and "whose cession might be inferred from silence at so important a crisis." We learn from Mr. Adams, through the essays of Novanglus, that in the petition to the king, sent this year from Massachusetts, "the two houses were induced to wave the word *rights*, and an express denial of the right of Parliament to tax us, to the great grief and distress of the friends of liberty in both."<sup>†</sup> But all the papers which were sent from Virginia vary, and reiterate the claim of right, in every form of language; "their ancient and inestimable right"—"a right which, as men and descendants of Britons, they have ever quietly possessed" "this invaluable birthright," "their just and undoubted rights as Britons," "their sacred birth-right and invaluable inheritance." "Your memorialists" runs the address to the House of Lords," conceive it to be a fundamental principle of the British constitu-

\* Mr. Jefferson.

† Adams' Works, Vol. 4, p. 48, Essays of Novanglus.

tion, without which freedom can nowhere exist, that the people are not subject to any taxes but such as are laid on them by their own consent, or by those who are legally appointed to represent them ; property must become too precarious for the genius of a free people which can be taken from them at the will of others, who cannot know what taxes such people can bear, or the easiest mode of raising them ; and who are not under that restraint which must be the greatest security against a burthensome taxation, when the representatives themselves must be affected by every tax imposed on the people. Your memorialists are therefore led into an humble confidence, that your lordships will not think any reason sufficient to support such a power in the British Parliament, where the colonies cannot be represented, a power never before constitutionally assumed, and which if they have a right to exercise on any occasion, must necessarily establish this melancholy truth, that the inhabitants of the colonies are the slaves of Britons from whom they are descended, and from whom they might expect every indulgence that the obligations of interest and affection can entitle them to.” Although these papers are marked by that profoundly respectful style in which the colonists were accustomed to make known their wants to the mother country, yet in their clear and emphatic claim of right, and their grave and earnest remonstrance, no prophet’s ear was needed to catch those notes of liberty, whose unmuffled tones subsequently gave to the chorus of independence its grand and swelling base.

These demonstrations of public sentiment were insufficient to shake the purpose of the ministry. The great majorities by which the Stamp Act was passed into a law, imparted to it under the circumstances the aspect of final

and irrevocable determination. When this intelligence reached America, it distinctly presented the question of liberty or slavery. If colonial submission had not terminated in an utter subversion of the British constitution, it would at least have reproduced in the most extensive empire of the modern world an image of the old Roman polity, liberty in the centre, and slavery at the extremities. The colony which, not contenting itself with a barren assertion of right, should proclaim to its people, that they were under no obligations to obey or respect this law, made up an issue with the mother country, which could only be determined by the retreat of the one or the other party from its position, or an appeal to arms. This was the turning point of the revolution. Never since Callimachus gave the casting vote to meet the Persian on the plains of Marathon, had there occurred a period so fraught with the destinies of after-centuries. I do not say that silence or submission at this time would have prevented the revolution; nothing could have perpetuated the condition of colonial vassalage; but I do say that it might have been much longer deferred, that its achievement might have been protracted through wearier years of blood and suffering, and that when finally closed in triumph, some of those morning stars which sang together over the birth of our Union, might have disappeared from the firmament of freedom.

That Being whose invisible hand gathers up the separate threads of individual life and fortune, and in the mysterious loom of his providence, weaves them into the mighty web and woof of national history; who, in all the past stages of human progress has brought together in unlooked for conjunction, the man and the hour, had arranged a fitting stage and provided becoming actors for this opening scene in the drama of liberty. The Bur-

gesses of Virginia were in session. So few and faint were the signs of resistance, that royal governors were flattering themselves that the law would be peacefully executed, and even approved patriots were looking around for sources of consolation under submission. Virginia was a loyal province. Her people provoked to resentment by no spur of practical oppression, cherished loyalty with generous and ennobling pride. But far below this surface feeling of the imagination, in their "heart of hearts," burned bright and inextinguishable, the master passion of their character, a love of their ancient British rights and privileges.

Amongst the members of this assembly, one had been specially returned from an impression that his abilities and his temper were equal to the magnitude of the crisis. Nothing probably will or ought to weigh more with posterity in forming a judgment of Patrick Henry, than the opinion of his wise and eminent contemporary, George Mason. Mason thus writes concerning him in 1774.\* "He is by far the most powerful public speaker I ever heard. Every word he says, not only engages but commands attention; and your passions are no longer your own when he addresses them. But his eloquence is the smallest part of his merit. He is, in my opinion, the first man upon this continent, as well in abilities as public virtue; and had he lived in Rome about the time of the first Punic war, when the Roman people had arrived at their meridian glory, and their virtue was not tarnished, Mr. Henry's talents must have put him at the head of that glorious commonwealth."

The fragments of Mr. Henry's speeches which have been preserved, although sufficient to attest the lofty

\* Letter to Cockburn, Virginia Historical Register, Vol. 2, p. 27.

stature of his moral and intellectual character, are too meagre to enable us fully to gauge and measure the proportions of his eloquence. Cicero thought that it was the last and highest achievement of the orator, to control the judgments and passions of a popular assembly. It is the peculiar fame of Mr. Henry, not only to have trod with equal distinction every theatre of public display, the mass-meeting of the people, the bar with its double arena of court and jury, and the legislative hall, but to have passed from one stage to the other, with an elasticity of genius which did not require the discipline of time and practice to accommodate the style formed in one forum to the spirit and requirements of another. Certainly he could lay no claim to that pomp and prodigality of intermingled fancy and learning, with which Burke embellished the splendid amplifications of cultivated reason; nor probably to that pregnant brevity and striking antithesis in which the impassioned logic of Grattan at once kindled the feelings and flashed conviction upon the understandings of his hearers. His power seems rather to have sprung from that profound depth of emotion, which more than any faculty or culture of mind enables its possessor, as in the case of Chatham, to vitalize the most inanimate hearts with his own living breath of passion. The audacious and happy conception is not always the inspiration of genius. There are occasions when the reason may well take lessons from the feelings; a truth to which Shakespeare points, when he places the greatest number of profound political and moral maxims in the mouths of men under the excitement of deep emotion.\* We cannot say that Mr. Henry, even if he had enjoyed the same advantages of early culture, and of extended intercourse with the most accomplished men of the age, as

\* See Coleridge's Statesman's Manual.

Lord Chatham, would have rivalled that splendid oratory, which Grattan borrowing from Shakespeare has described as now the thunder, and now the music of the spheres; but we may say that there is no reason to believe that Lord Chatham in Mr. Henry's position, and with his opportunities, could have touched more skillfully the great primal sensibilities of our nature, or "ruled with more unbounded authority the wildness of free minds."

Henry introduced and carried through the assembly five resolutions, the last and most decisive by a single vote, which gave his own heart of hope to the colonies, and struck "one of those blows in the world, which will always resound through its history." Never was the power of the right word, spoken at the right season, so strikingly exhibited. The suppressed discontent of the other colonies, encouraged by the voice and example of Virginia, found expression, until its echoes from legislative and popular bodies before they reached England, seemed, said Burke, "like the sound of a mighty tempest." The enthusiasm which was awakened by these resolutions in the sympathetic bosoms of the sons of liberty, and the rapidity of their transmission from colony to colony, may recall that famous passage of Æschylus, which describes the progress of the beacon fires that announced the fall of Troy—

" From watch to watch, it leaped that light,  
As a rider rode the flame."

I cannot leave this great transaction without an effort to vindicate it from those glosses of unfair criticism, by which its right to the prominent place that has been heretofore assigned to it in history, has been disputed. The Virginia resolutions, it has been urged, could not

have produced the impression attributed to them, because it is said, they contained no new principle, nor any stronger enunciation of old principles than those previously adopted in other colonies; and if any such effect resulted from their publication as has been described, it is to be referred, not to the five resolutions which were sanctioned by the House of Burgesses, but to two others of a more inflammatory character, which, although never offered to the assembly, were printed and circulated by its members, and found their way in some instances into the northern newspapers. Supposing for a moment, that there was nothing on the face of these resolutions to distinguish them from the petitions and address of the preceding year, the vast difference in the circumstances under which they were expressed, might well explain their effect on public feeling. The contemporary generation could not have fallen into the error of overlooking this distinction. All former resolutions had been addressed to the British Parliament, and were designed to dissuade it from legislation. They had failed to accomplish their object; or to arrest the meditated injustice. These resolutions were addressed to the people of the colonies, and intended to excite them to resistance. The one was remonstrance—the other was defiance. The two resolutions which emanated from Virginia, although not adopted by the House of Burgesses, affirmed no new principle, but merely pointed out and expressed the logical consequences of the fifth resolution introduced by Henry; a fact which explains the “bloody opposition” to that resolution, as well as its erasure from the journal after Henry left Williamsburg. Considering the manner in which this resolution was resisted, and the transmission of the mutilated record to England, it is difficult to believe that the additional resolutions could have been

circulated to any extent as authentic; and no adequate evidence has been adduced to support such a conjecture. The fifth resolution declares that the General Assembly of the colony, hath the sole right and power, to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of the colony, and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the General Assembly, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom. This resolution was so framed as to meet and repudiate all the distinctions upon which the claim of parliamentary supremacy had been defended. It not only denies the legislative authority of the Parliament, but charges all persons who attempt to establish it, with seeking the subversion of British as well as American freedom: in other words, with treason. "To extend the governor's right to command, and the subject's duty to obey, beyond the laws of one's country," said Lord Somers, "is treason against the constitution, and treachery to the society whereof we are members."\* When Virginia committed herself to this principle, the morn of the revolution had kindled on the horizon. That any act of the character thus described might be disregarded, and that all persons seeking to give effect to it, might be considered as enemies to their country, were necessary conclusions. This interpretation was given to the resolution in Virginia; a fact which is established not only by the additional resolutions which emanated from the ardent patriots of the same assembly, and were circulated in and out of the colony, but by the letter of governor Fauquier, who in five weeks wrote to England that "the government was set at defiance, not having strength enough in its hands to enforce obedience to the law." It is the

\* See Sharp's Rights of the People, 28—in notes.

statement of royalist historians and essayists,\* and it is confirmed by the political tracts of Otis and Dulany, that a distinction had been taken even amongst approved patriots, between the right and the power or authority of Parliament to impose taxes, which after the passage of the Virginia resolutions was generally abandoned. We might not be willing to credit Hutchinson when he informs us, that James Otis publicly declared the Virginia resolutions to be treasonable,† did not the contemporary writings of Otis furnish evidence of the same sentiment. Pursuing the shadowy distinction which has been adverted to, he thus repels the imputation that the colonies were about to become insurgent: "It is the duty of all humbly and silently to acquiesce in all the decisions of the supreme legislature. Nine hundred and ninety-nine in a thousand of the colonists, will never once entertain a thought but of submission to our sovereign, and to the authority of Parliament in all possible contingencies. They have undoubtedly the right to levy internal taxes in the colonies."‡ Let us accord to the memory of James Otis, an overflowing measure of honor and gratitude, for the eminent services rendered by him to the cause of liberty, from 1760 to 1770. If he declared in reference to the Stamp Act, that "tears relieved him for a moment," they were

"Such tears as patriots shed for dying laws."

An invidious comparison instituted between Henry and Otis by the elder Adams, has compelled me to touch upon those inconsistencies of the latter which induced Roger Sherman to declare that he had surrendered the right of

\* Hutchinson's History—*Essays of Massachusettensis*.

† Hutchinson's History, Vol. 3, p. 119.

‡ See Bancroft's History of U. States, Vol. 5, p. 271.

the colonies, and to show that at this period, even the spirit of Massachusetts patriotism, might have drawn inspiration from that bold oratory, interrupted but not suppressed by the cry of treason, in which Henry invoked the memories of violated freedom to ring their warning defiance in the ears of tyranny.

The publication of Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry, in which the credit was claimed for him of having given the first impulse to the ball of the revolution, amongst other criticisms more or less harsh, elicited a letter from John Adams to the biographer, from which the following extract is taken : "The resistance to the British system for subjugating the colonies began in 1760 and in 1761, in the month of February, when James Otis electrified the town of Boston, the province of Massachusetts Bay, and the whole continent, more than Patrick Henry ever did in the whole course of his life. If we must have panegyric and hyperbole, I must say that, if Mr. Henry was Demosthenes, and R. H. Lee Cicero, Mr. Otis was Isaiah and Ezekiel combined. I hope, sir, that some young gentleman of the family, the ancient and honorable family of the 'Searchers,' will hereafter do impartial justice to Virginia and Massachusetts."\* In a letter to another friend : "Is it not an affront," says he, "to common sense, an insult to truth, virtue and patriotism, to represent Patrick Henry, though he was my friend as much as Otis, as the father of the American revolution, and the founder of American independence. The gentleman who has done this, sincerely believed what he wrote, I doubt not; but he ought to be made sensible that he is of yesterday, and knows nothing of the real origin of the American revolution."† That the argument of Otis, on the occasion referred to by Mr. Adams, was a

\* Kennedy's Life of Wirt, vol. 2, p. 45.

† Ibid, p. 54.

noble and masterly display of eloquence and patriotism, is the tribute alike of justice and gratitude. If it had done nothing more than inflame with new ardor that love of liberty which already glowed in the bosom of the youthful Adams, it would have rendered a service to the American cause of inappreciable value. But there is no reason to believe that any knowledge of it, beyond that furnished by the most passing newspaper notice, existed out of New England; so slight was the intercourse between the colonies. The only sketch of it ever printed, was published many years afterwards, from notes taken by Mr. Adams. It is probable that Henry's argument in the Parsons' case, upon which public attention was fixed by the exciting and protracted discussion of the general question between the best writers in the colony, and which proceeded upon the broadest principles of natural justice and liberty, attained as wide celebrity and produced as powerful impressions. It is then, an injustice, which is only equalled by its absurdity, to institute a comparison between the effect on American independence of Patrick Henry's Stamp Act resolutions, and Jas. Otis' argument on writs of assistance. All the contemporary accounts transmitted to England, attributed the general resistance of the act by the people, to the influence of the Virginia resolutions. Letters from Boston, N, York, Philadelphia, and North Carolina, alike attest the fact, and declare that the Virginia leaders "were applauded as the protectors and assertors of American liberty."\* "The Virginians," says Gordon, the historian, "are Episcopalian, and if there is either blame or merit in exciting that fixed and spirited opposition to the Stamp Act which followed upon their resolves, let them be credited for the same; to them

\* Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. 16, p. 123; Bancroft's History of U. S., vol. 5, p. 278; Gordon's History, vol 1, 137,

belongs the honor or disgrace ; and solely to particular colonies, the disgrace of the several enormities committed in them." But, sir, I shall appeal to yet higher authority. I shall call a witness better qualified to speak on this question than any other contemporary actor—one who might almost say of the earlier stages of the revolution what Æneas did of the Trojan war, "*Quorum pars magna fui*,"—a witness whose testimony was given before age had impaired his recollection, or any disturbing force of prejudice had destroyed the balance of his judgment. I shall cite three comprehensive lines written in June, 1776, whilst the heart of their author was nigh bursting with those expanding thoughts of liberty, which soon found utterance in an immortal argument for independence on the floor of Congress. They run thus : "The author of the first Virginia resolutions against the Stamp Act will have the glory with posterity of beginning and concluding this great revolution ;"<sup>\*</sup> brief but memorable sentence, which Virginia should have inscribed upon the statue of Patrick Henry, on the authority of John Adams.

Great revolutions, says Southey, have been generally brought about by the zeal of active minorities. It was not so with the American revolution. The whole atmosphere was charged with the electricity of freedom. In every province, the cause of colonial rights was espoused by large and overruling majorities. In some there existed a unanimity like that which, in the case of the Spanish Netherlands, was regarded by Sir Philip Sydney as a proof of Divine presence, and a pledge of ultimate success. The danger to their liberties produced a union amongst the colonists, which no apprehension of French or Indian invasion had been able to accomplish. A

\* Adams' Works, vol. 9, p. 386, will be found the letter of Adams to P. Henry from which the sentence is extracted.

recommendation of Massachusetts, sustained at a critical juncture by the noble and spirited conduct of South Carolina, resulted in the meeting of a general Congress, at New York, in 1765. The deepest interest must ever be associated with this earliest conference of patriotism. All the colonies maintained a regular intercourse with the mother country, but few of them with each other. So limited were the facilities of communication, that it required twenty days for an express to travel from Boston to Charleston. The interchange of sentiment and opinion between Otis and Gadsden, Dickerson and Rutledge, the master spirits of this illustrious body, now for the first time brought together, must have dispelled the prejudices, enlarged the conceptions, and warmed and invigorated the patriotic resolution of each, whilst the success and harmony of the Congress must have impressed upon all the great facility, and the yet greater advantages of union. It is a cause of regret, but not of reproach, that Virginia did not participate in these deliberations—the adjournment of her assembly before the suggestion of a Congress was made, preventing the appointment of delegates. She was not, however, forgotten by her sister colonies, as we find in an account of the expenses of the Congress, an item for sending a copy of their proceedings by express to the speaker of the House of Burgesses of Virginia.

A change in the British ministry led to a repeal of the Stamp Act early in 1766. The repealing statute, notwithstanding a declaratory preamble, affirming the power of Parliament to bind the colonies, by legislation in all cases whatever, which much abated its healing efficacy, was hailed throughout America with the liveliest demonstrations of joy, as a pledge of returning justice. It is unnecessary for me to remind you how fleeting was this

morning dream of conciliation and peace, how soon the offensive principle of the Stamp Act was revived in the act concerning glass, lead, paper, and tea, how a series of revolting and oppressive measures was pursued, to enforce this odious tyranny; how legislatures were suspended, charters vacated, right of trial by jury in criminal cases invaded, soldiers quartered upon the people, whole communities visited with the offences of individuals: proceedings but faintly defended at the time upon constitutional grounds, and according to the high authority of Burke, without parallel in history, save in the bloody and arbitrary course of Philip the Second of Spain to his revolted provinces of the Netherlands. *Divide et impera*, was no doubt the maxim of ministerial policy;—but why Massachusetts was selected as a subject of experiment and vengeance instead of Virginia, has never been certainly ascertained, and occasioned inquiry and comment at the time in the British Parliament. Whether it was owing to the fact that the Virginia resolutions had been transmitted to England only in their mutilated form; whether the great division of sentiment in Massachusetts, “where the most able and active of their partizans were stationed, and the main body of their forces concentrated,”\* gave the best prospect of a successful issue; whether it may be attributed to the different character of their respective royal governors, those circumstances, which were likely to widen the breach between the two countries being softened in every report from Virginia, whilst they were aggravated in similar communications from Massachusetts; whether the destruction of private property in Massachusetts afforded a pretext which was wanting in Virginia; from whatever cause it proceeded, it was owing to no manifestation by Virginia of a dis-

\* Tudor's Life of Otis.

position to recede from that bold determination to maintain her ancient liberties, which without concert with her sister colonies, and in advance of any demonstration of public sentiment, she had so fearlessly proclaimed.

Without commenting upon the historical incidents which fill up the interval between 1766 and 1774, and in which the post of honor, because the post of danger, was so nobly guarded by Massachusetts, let us glance briefly at those oral and written discussions by which the respective parties to this great issue, sought to sustain their pretensions at the bar of reason and justice, and to secure the approving verdict of history. What explanation can be offered of the strange and humiliating fact, that "a nation led to greatness," as John Jay finely expressed it, in the opening sentence of his famous address to the people of Great Britain, "by the hand of liberty, should have descended to the ungrateful task of forging chains for her friends and children!" Some of its causes lie upon the surface. Besides "the malign influence of the Georgium Sidus," of the whole weight of the ministerial connection and of "the mercenary Swiss of State," the highest legal authorities in the kingdom, Charles Yorke, the admirable Crichton of the bar, in the House of Commons, and Lord Mansfield in the House of Lords, had declared the supreme power of Parliament to legislate on all subjects for all parts of the empire, and the obligation of colonial dependence and obedience in return for the protection of the mother country. An almost incredible ignorance of the character, condition and history of the colonists, not only amongst the mass of the people, but the great body of their rulers, as well as a difficulty in discovering any satisfactory distinction upon which the power of Parliament to legislate for the colo-

nies in one class of cases could be acknowledged, and its power to legislate for them in another, denied—induced an easy reception of this theory of the constitution. The selfish principle which saw in an American revenue the relief of the landed interest of England, and that blunted sensibility to the just claims of others, which is so apt to result from a sense of absolute power, contributed to the prevailing delusion, until, as Dr. Franklin said, “almost every man in England fancied himself a piece of a sovereign over America.” Out of Parliament, as well as in it, these views were industriously maintained by a host of pamphleteers, embracing many of the most eminent names of the age: Soame Jenyns, and his old opponent in theological controversy, the man who more than any other writer, of that time, had the ear of the English people, Samuel Johnson, Tucker, (not as Hildreth supposes, the celebrated author of the *Light of Nature*, but the Dean of Gloucester,) John Wesley, and the scarcely less famous and pious Fletcher, Vicar of Madely. Although all these writers were imbued with more or less of the prevailing temper, none of them displayed it in so arrogant and offensive a manner as Dr. Johnson, in his “*Taxation no Tyranny.*” One or two passages will give an impression of the intolerant character of this tract. Alluding to a description of the growing strength of the colonies, he says, “Men accustomed to consider themselves masters, do not like to be threatened.” Again, “It might be hoped that no Englishman could be found on whom the menaces of our colonists just rescued from the French, would not move to an indignation like that of the Scythians who returning from war, found themselves excluded from their houses by their own slaves.” Referring to the Boston Post Bill, he says, “If Boston is condemned unheard, it is because there is no need of

trial; all trial is an investigation of something doubtful." Well might Burke declare, that "in order to prove that the Americans have no right to their liberties, we are every day endeavoring to subvert the maxims of our own."

The cause of the colonies was, however, maintained both in and out of Parliament, with a spirit and ability which should ever be borne in grateful remembrance by the American people. Never had the British Parliament been adorned with more wisdom and eloquence, than during this period. In gazing at the rising lights of Burke and Fox, men almost forgot the setting flames of Mansfield and Chatham. Many of the discussions on American questions were never reported; others only in a most imperfect manner. All are familiar with that grand and terrible invective pronounced by Chatham on the employment of Indians in the war. It is not so generally known that Burke delivered a speech on the same subject, of which no trace has been preserved, but which was esteemed by those who heard it, as the greatest triumph of eloquence in that generation; and of which governor Johnstone declared on the floor of the House of Commons, that it was fortunate, spectators had been excluded from the debate, for if any had been present, they would have excited the people to tear Lords North and Germaine to pieces, on their way home. Of all the lost fragments of ancient taste and genius, there is none probably, which, if recovered, an American scholar would not be willing to exchange for this missing oration of Burke.

Amongst the Peers, Lords Camden and Chatham were most vehement and eloquent in denouncing the scheme of the ministry. Lord Camden declared that "the connexion between taxation and representation was not only

founded in a law of nature, but was in itself an eternal law of nature ; that whatever was a man's own was absolutely his own, and that no other had the right to take it from him without his consent given expressly, or by representation ; that whoever attempted to do it, committed an injustice, whoever did it, committed a robbery ;” language which the minister declared was a libel on Parliament, that no printer ought to be allowed to publish without punishment. In entire harmony with these views, Lord Chatham maintained, that upon the principles of the constitution, the right of imposing taxes stood apart from the ordinary mass of legislative powers ; a tax being regarded as a gift of money from those to whom it belonged, rather than a law ; a distinction which explained the peculiar form of a money bill, and its exclusive origination in the House of Commons. Whatever we may think of the solidity of this distinction, it sprang from a liberal and manly desire to reconcile the claim of parliamentary supremacy, with that “generous plan” of power delivered down in the British constitution. But our obligations to Lord Chatham, are not to be measured by the value of his constitutional arguments. We enjoyed, when we most needed such countenance, the benefit of his great name ; and this influence, although not equal to what it had been, was still almost an estate in the realm ; we felt across that ocean, so much wider then than now, the inspiration of his great heart. His answering burst of sympathy with our resistance to the Stamp Act, electrified both continents. His lofty and generous sentiments, uttered on the very verge of civil war, proclaiming our cause to be the common cause of Whigs, in England and America, “Liberty to liberty engaged,” if they failed to touch the hardened hearts of our ancient rulers, animated and

exalted our fathers' courage. Those statues which were voted to him by grateful assemblies of the colonies, deserve to stand forever amid the groups, in which sculpture commemorates the fathers and founders of American independence.

There was a speech intended to have been spoken on the Bill for altering the Charters of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, and which, although not delivered by its author, (in consequence probably of his age and infirmities,) was published, and elicited from the colonists the warmest tributes of gratitude and applause. Never since the generous imagination of Berkley had dictated those glowing and familiar lines which pictured the future glories of America, had the character and fortunes of its people been described with so sympathetic a spirit—never were the high functions and duties which are imposed upon the English church by reason of its connexion with the state, more worthily discharged by her representatives, than on this occasion, by Shipton, the Bishop of St. Asaph. The language does not contain a discourse of the same length, which establishes with more eloquence the entire harmony between the lessons of political wisdom, and the sentiments of Christian piety, than the speech to which I refer. Most touchingly, does he urge a kind and liberal policy towards the colonies: “Let us cherish them as the immortal monuments of our public justice, and wisdom, as the heirs of our better days, of our old arts and manners, and our expiring national virtues; spare the only great nursery of freemen now left upon earth; if no impropriety is seen in it, let the plunderer and oppressor still go free, but be content with the spoils and destruction of the East, and do not think the love of liberty the only crime worthy of punishment.”

Sentiments so wise and noble, commended by all the

authority of venerable age and sacred profession, might have inspired those lines of the poet—

“Truth shows a glorious face,  
When on that isthmus which commands  
The counsels of both worlds, she stands.”

In the House of Commons, Edmund Burke was the leader and representative of a class of English statesmen, who without subscribing to the constitutional doctrines of Lords Chatham and Camden, were equally earnest in their opposition, on general grounds of justice and expediency. No man since the days of Bacon, had combined such an assemblage of rare and diversified intellectual qualities. It has been truly said, that if placed between Plato and Aristotle, each of those great but different masters would have listened to his conversation with equal delight. He fully comprehended the profound maxim of Coleridge, that in every principle there lies the germ of a prophecy, and its wise application has impressed upon his writings a character of almost oracular prescience. The speech he delivered on Conciliation with America, was pronounced by Sir James McIntosh the most complete and finished work of his genius. In connection with his earlier speech on taxing the colonies, it presents the most comprehensive summary of the merits of the controversy, that has been ever taken from an English stand-point of observation. It is not the sarcasm, imagery, learning, political or moral speculation which swell with tributary homage their imperial rhetoric, which leave us yet lost in admiring wonder over these extraordinary speeches; it is the picture they present of the character and temper of a remote people, amongst whom he afterwards said that he could not recall a personal acquaintance, and which, faithful as a moral dauberreotype, portrays even the minute shades of varia-

tion from their common type of civilization. If the fortunes of our revolution had been as adverse as they were glorious, the eloquence of Burke would have forever embalmed it amid memories of liberty and patriotism.

The English press was prolific of essays in defence of the rights of the colonies. Amongst these may be mentioned, as probably the ablest, those of Burgh, the author of the Political Disquisitions, Robinson, Granville Sharp, and Dr. Price. The tract of Dr. Price on Civil Liberty ran through four editions, before 1776, with a sale of one hundred thousand copies; it was reprinted, and widely circulated in the colonies, and exerted a very powerful influence upon the leading minds amongst the patriots. Dr. Price was the most eminent amongst those "Lockian heroes," as they were derisively termed by Dean Tucker, who, whilst glancing at the legal aspects of the question and maintaining the claims of the colonists, on the strength of charters, prescriptions, and the theory of the constitution, laid the stress of the argument on the principles of natural right and justice. "Give me," said Fletcher of Madely, "the political principles of Dr. Price, and I will move all kings out of their thrones, and all subjection out of the world."

In America, the discussion assumed the widest range. I shall not attempt to take you through that controversy as to the connection between taxation and representation, which Burke described as "a Serbonian bog, where armies whole had sunk;" but as the controversy was one, which, according to Dr. Johnson, "must convict the one party of robbery, or the other of rebellion," a just regard to the fame of our ancestors, requires us to be familiar with the leading grounds of their justification. The claim of obedience in return for protection was repudiated, not only as inconsistent with the truth of history,

in reference to the settlement and growth of the colonies, but as utterly incompatible with the rights of freemen; and such must have been the opinion of some of its advocates, for one of them declared in Parliament that "there was no Bill of Rights for America." A supremacy of this character, without check or limitation, was thought to be descriptive of a despotism; possibly a paternal and enlightened one, such as England claims to exercise over her subject millions in Asia, but certainly a relation from which all those features of liberty were obliterated, for which the American charters were crowded with stipulations.

Although the more dispassionate of the colonists might not have been prepared to receive the bold assertion of Lord Camden, that there never was a period of English history in which a single blade of grass in the remotest corner of the kingdom was unrepresented, there could be no doubt that security of property from arbitrary molestation, had been the invariable rallying point of British liberty in its long battle with prerogative, and that taxation without representation was nothing less than "plunder authorized by law." In the extension of representation at different periods, to Wales, Chester, Durham, Berwick and Calais, this principle had been successively recognized. If the spirit of the constitution demanded an allowance of representation to communities whose interests were so closely interwoven with those of England, how extravagant and inconsistent was the claim to tax the colonies without their consent, when there subsisted between them and the mother country such an antagonism of interest, that representation itself would have furnished no protection against oppression—the heavier the American tax, the lighter the English burthen, the closer the American monopoly, the larger

the gains of the British manufacturer. The contest appeared to be substantially a renewal of the old struggle for British liberty. A Parliament standing to the colonies in relations more remote than those of the crown to the British people, claimed all those arbitrary privileges from which the latter had emancipated themselves, through generations of hard-fought conflict. The colonists placed a construction upon their charters, which converted them into guarantees of the rights and privileges of British subjects. The technical interpretation which confined the operation of their provisions to a residence in England, was manifestly inconsistent with the spirit and subversive of the objects of those instruments ; and would not only have deprived the colonists of that great privilege of self-taxation, which like the key-stone, shuts up and makes fast the arch of British liberty, but would have excluded them from all other share in the constitution, than a participation of its burthens. If the king, as was alledged, had transcended his prerogative in granting the exemptions contained in the charters, it was answered, that his authority was deemed sufficient at the time of its exercise, and that if there was usurpation, it had been sanctioned by the parliamentary acquiescence of centuries.

The right claimed by the colonists was rendered sacred in their eyes, by an uninterrupted possession of nearly two hundred years. In no country had custom been "so great a magistrate" as in England ; was prescription to operate in favor of liberty only upon English soil ? The argument on this point was well stated by John Dickinson in his Farmer's Letters :\* "The people of Great Britain in support of their privileges, boast much of their antiquity. They are ancient, but it may well be

\* Dickinson's Works, Vol. 1. page 184.

questioned whether there is a single privilege of a British subject supported by longer, more solemn or uninterrupted testimony, than the exclusive right of taxation in the colonies. The people of Great Britain consider that kingdom the sovereign of the colonies, and would now annex to that sovereignty, a prerogative never before heard of. How would they bear this, was the case their own? What would they think of a new prerogative claimed by the British crown? Let our liberties be treated with the same tenderness, and it is all we desire."

Before the controversy was closed, public sentiment had settled down upon the principle, that Parliament possessed no powers of legislation whatever over the colonies, and that the only political relation between them and the mother country, was the link of allegiance to a common crown. An examination of the nature of the dependence which had been generally acknowledged to exist, resulted in a conviction, that it was understood by the first settlers and the most eminent lawyers of their day, amongst whom might be mentioned Lord Bacon,\* to mean nothing more than obedience and loyalty to the king of England. The common law neither contemplated nor provided for the case of colonization; it was *casus omissus*. To claim supremacy, as over Ireland, on the score of conquest, was simply ridiculous. The tenor of charters, treaties, and ancient usage alike, established the relation to be that of independent states. On this principle, (which attracted little or no discussion in England,) the revolution finally proceeded. We went to war, not for a parliamentary preamble, but for a long continued course of misgovernment on the part of our king, by which the bonds of our political allegiance were dissolved.

\* *Essay on Legislative Authority of Parliament*, Wilson's Works, Vol. 3, p. 240.

But the colonists, as Burke predicted, could not be argued into slavery. If, said he, your "sovereignty and their freedom cannot be reconciled, they will throw your sovereignty in your face." From the beginning to the end of the controversy, they appealed to the great principles of natural right. They insisted on those historical muniments, which constitute the title deeds of English liberty. They stood, as they contended, on the rock of the constitution. But they were not willing to rest the argument even there. A people instructed in the doctrines of freedom by such a school-master as the common law, and trained to exercise its privileges and responsibilities by a social discipline, extending through centuries of enjoyment—a people, amongst whom the ordinary administration of justice could be suspended without any serious interruption of the order of society, might claim the right of self-government by a higher authority than that of charters or prescription. Hence the comprehensive language of the Declaration of Independence, hence the broad principles of the Virginia Bill of Rights, hence on the great seal of the commonwealth, as Liberty stands encircled by an emblematic group, representing the extent and perpetuity of her blessings, the noble sentiment in which piety and philosophy blend their ascriptions, "Deus nobis, hæc otia fecit." This great principle, that the right to liberty does not depend upon the facts and traditions of history, that it is not to be referred to measures of chronology, that it is not circumscribed by lines of latitude or longitude, but that it springs from the very constitution of human nature, and is to be restrained and guarded only by those social necessities which are ordained in the same comprehensive code, was triumphantly inaugurated amongst the moral powers of the world, by the success of our revolution.

I cannot pause to enumerate by descriptive catalogue, much less to subject to critical analysis, the numerous essays which were published in the colonies, in defence of American rights. Although I could not hope to impart to such sketches, that interest which always gathers around the great scenes and actors of history, unless marred by an unsympathizing relation, yet the light which a study of this literature would reflect on the nature of the English constitution, and on the meaning and value of those principles which lie at the foundation of good government, render it worthy of more general attention. There is a life and freshness in the instruction to be derived from the contest and struggles of opinion, induced by actual events, which is not to be found in the cloistral speculations of philosophy. "Truths," says Coleridge, "are plucked as it were growing, and delivered to you with the dew upon them." We cannot claim for any of these papers those extraordinary merits of style, illustration, and argument, by which Pascal in the Provincial Letters, Swift in the Drapier Letters, or Smith in the Letters of Peter Plimley have conferred upon controversies more local and fleeting, an imperishable attraction. The occasions and opportunities for those oral and written discussions, by which alone in the absence of a literary class, a body of ready and practised writers can be raised up, were very rare in the colonies. Nothing therefore, more generally characterises the essays of this period than a rustic simplicity of style, and the absence of those rhetorical arts by which the modern writer seeks to produce or increase an impression. There were of course, exceptions to this remark. John Dickinson and Richard Henry Lee, for example, had studied composition as an art, and were masters of an elegant and flowing style. The general knowledge of law, evidenced by

a sale in the colonies of almost as many copies of Blackstone's Commentaries, as in England, and the familiarity induced by their local institutions with the forms and principles of free government, had prepared a class of men in every province, capable of declaring and vindicating those great rights which were universally understood and appreciated; and to whom we owe a body of state papers, which in simplicity of style, dignity of tone and sentiment, manly vigor of thought, and luminous and impressive statement, far surpassed any similar productions that had as yet appeared in the language.

The political literature of the colonies was impressed with the features belonging to an age of transition: "There are times," says Sir James Mackintosh, "when there is a general tendency in speculation towards something higher, and when no man has quite reached the object, much less the auxiliary and subsequent power of expression." The period in question, separated an age in which men were disposed to rely upon charters, conventions, and prescriptions in evidence of their rights, from one in which they were deduced from the broad principles of natural and social equity. Oppression forces men to follow their premises to logical conclusions. Those political truths which had been established by the English revolutions of the seventeenth century, but from whose entire acknowledgment, the boldest English statesmen shrank back, even in the hour of their triumph, which are seen only in clouded majesty in the pages of Locke, were now unveiling their full significance. Hence, as the controversy proceeded, we observe a growing freedom and power of expression, a brightening perception of principles, their analogies and results, a wider range of illustration, and a loftier tone of sentiment. Those doctrines which, at the time they were proclaimed

by Patrick Henry in the Parsons' case, seemed treasonable to men afterwards eminent as revolutionary Whigs, commanded universal assent when embodied in the Declaration of Independence.

The most conspicuous of the early essayists in defence of the rights of the colonies, were Otis, Dulany, Dickinson, and Bland; to a later period belong the names of Quincy, and Wilson, Hopkinson, Hamilton, Paine, Jefferson, and Drayton. John Adams and Arthur Lee participated in every stage of the discussion, from its opening to its close. In 1765, John Adams published his essay on the Canon and Feudal Law, which, although not aimed directly at the Stamp Act, was a bold and timely appeal in behalf of civil and religious liberty; and the commencement of hostilities at Concord and Lexington interrupted his elaborate and learned review of all the questions at issue, in the articles of Novanglus. I know of no author of whom it could be said with more truth, that the style is the man, than John Adams. His writings exhibit the characteristic features of his moral and intellectual character, as well as the Puritan influences under which they were formed and colored. We everywhere discover a jealousy of Episcopacy, sometimes deepening into a stronger sentiment, that generous enthusiasm for the diffusion of knowledge amongst the masses, which has always distinguished the great body of dissenters, a love of liberty constantly breaking forth like an irrepressible flame, a learning more multifarious than accurate, a generalization of history always bold and striking, but frequently precipitate and erroneous, a style compensating for its want of grace and finish by its simplicity and nervous energy.

Although John Dickinson had been engaged in military service, along the lines in New Jersey and New York, six

months before the Declaration of Independence, yet his strenuous opposition to that measure, proceeding wholly upon convictions of its inexpediency, threw a shade over the lustre of his patriotism, which was not dispelled during his life-time. No man in the colonies, however, had done more to render the parliamentary pretensions odious, abroad as well as at home. He represented a large class of American patriots, who "by ancient learning, were warmed with love of ancient freedom," and his numerous essays are replete with sentiments and illustrations, drawn from the noblest examples and purest ages of antiquity. His Farmer's Letters were not only published in England, but translated into French, and printed at Paris. They are marked, as well by a high order of literary merit, as by the extreme caution of his temper; acknowledging the general supremacy of Parliament, they stopped at what Mr. Jefferson called "the half way house," and denied only its power to impose internal taxes.

The efficient service rendered at a critical period, to the cause of American liberty, by Thomas Paine, must increase our regret that his subsequent career should have exhibited such melancholy aberrations from truth and virtue. He belonged to that race of political pamphleteers, which, unknown at the time on the continent of Europe, had played a most important part in the great scenes of English history; a race of which Swift is *facile princeps*, but after whom Paine has not been exceeded in ability or effect. His Common Sense had an immense sale, and produced a deep and wide popular impression; it confirmed the irresolute and turned the doubtful in favor of independence—as Gen. Lee said of it, in homely but expressive metaphor, "it gave the *coup de grace* to the British cause."

Virginia is entitled to the credit of having first pointed out, in a masterly tract by one of her sons, the true relation of the colonies to the mother country. I do not mean that the views, presented in this essay, were entirely novel, for they could scarcely, then, have been true. But I mean, that we can find few traces of previous contemporary recognition; and that what afterwards became the general American doctrine, was first explicitly stated, fully explained, and elaborately vindicated, in an Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies, published in the beginning of the year 1766, by Richard Bland. Bland was the leader of those conservative patriots, who, although warmed into an equal ardor in the course of the controversy, resisted so earnestly the inflammatory Stamp Act resolutions of Patrick Henry. His participation in the discussions with the clergy, which grew out of the relief acts, as they were termed, fixing the price of tobacco, had prepared him as it did Henry, for a manly advocacy of the cause of liberty; for whatever we may think of the justice or the policy of those measures, they were defended upon the great republican principle, that even the Royal authority was subordinate to the great maxim of popular right, *salus populi suprema est lex*. Bland in this essay, maintained that the colony of Virginia was a distinct state, independent as to its internal government, of the original kingdom, but united with it, as to its external polity, in closest league and amity—under allegiance to the same crown, and enjoying the benefits of reciprocal intercourse. The constitutional grounds thus assumed, and supported by a reference to charters, treaties and prescription, were substantially the same as those afterwards maintained on still broader principles, and pursued to yet bolder conclusions, by Jefferson, and at a still later period by John Adams, in his essays of *Novanglus*. The

learning and ability displayed by Bland in this tract, establish his claim to a high rank amongst the constitutional statesmen of that day, and render it certain that nothing but his death at the very dawn of the revolution, or his extreme age, could have deprived him of a national fame.

No paper had yet appeared so bold in tone, or polished in style, as the Summary View of the Rights of British America, printed by the Virginia Assembly in 1774, and claiming attention not only by reason of its intrinsic merit, but as the first published essay of Mr. Jefferson. When a new truth enters the world, it rarely finds any one voice adequate to its utterance. He who most completely expresses its spirit, becomes the representative man of the time. If, as has been sometimes suggested, the history of humanity could be written in the biographies of its representative men, a prominent place would be assigned to Jefferson. He was the type of an age penetrated with an ardent love of liberty, and a broad sentiment of natural right: his love of liberty was not like that, whose inspiration drawn from the depths of religious emotion, animated the English and American Puritans, but which too frequently found expression, as in Milton's Easy Way to establish a Commonwealth, in a moral and religious aristocracy; nor yet did it resemble that passionate sentiment which imparted to the people of his native colony, their prevailing temper, and which, as in Fletcher of Saltoun, "blended the pride of a feudal baron with the spirit of a Roman republican." A generous conception of human right, indicated by his motto, "*Ab eo libertas a quo spiritus;*" "a large ambitious wish to make the people blest," whose trophies commemorated in his immortal epitaph, are destined to (if I may be permitted in reference to the last, to throw the language of hope into prophecy, and

add) an ever-during and ever-widening renown : a fearless

“ Faith in Time,  
And that which shapes it to a perfect end;”

all disposed him to sympathize largely with that prevailing French philosophy, whose beautiful visions had captivated even soberer imaginations than his own. But before experience had revealed the deceitful and illusory character of these bold speculations, their power over the opinions of Jefferson was tempered and chastened by the conservative influences of English culture, and especially by his study of common law. During all the stages of that great moral, as well as social and political revolution, his mind never lost its balance. The philosophical statesman of England, turning with horror from that burning image of French freedom, which, instead of warming the nations with kindly ray, carried conflagration in its beams, and marked its path of fire by the wasted springs and empty urns of civilization, was hurried by heated sensibilities, into a denial of those great principles which had been vindicated by the triumphs of English liberty. But in the very height of the speculative delusions as to natural rights, Jefferson, although inflamed with the utmost ardor in the cause of freedom, and buoyed up with the highest hopes of its success, preserved a wise temperance of opinion ; he was neither betrayed into sympathy with the excesses of the French republicans, nor shaken in his devotion to popular rights ; he earnestly dissuaded their leading statesmen from the work of indiscriminate destruction, and urged the policy of gradual and moderate reform, commanding to them the pious custom of antiquity, which when a sacred edifice was overthrown by time or war, required that the old stones already consecrated by the divine presence should be used in the construction

of the new temple. The essay to which we have referred, is a characteristic production. It displays a power of polished composition, which if it had been more frequently exercised, and directed to subjects of general and permanent interest, would have enriched his native literature, not with faint and adulterated transcripts of foreign taste and genius, but with works on which the American mind had stamped its own glowing image and bold superscription. It is marked by the independence of authority, and the intrepid confidence with which, like a mathematician pursuing his formulas, he followed the logical consequences of his opinions to conclusions that startled slower understandings. Having early satisfied himself that the colonies were independent states, he subjected to the standard of this principle not only the acts of the British Parliament, but the conduct of the king, and pointed out the oppression and misgovernment to which we had been subjected with so bold and free a pencil, that the tract might have very well been deemed a text book of rebellion, and have procured for its author the honor of meditated attainder.

There are other names belonging to this period, so pre-eminent, that it would be unpardonable to omit all reference to them, even in the briefest sketch: men who by correspondence, occasional articles in the newspapers, the preparation of resolutions and addresses, rendered timely and efficient aid to the common cause. Amongst these may be mentioned Samuel Adams, who at all times, "erect and clear," did as much to prepare the people for independence as any man in the colonies; Arthur Lee, who besides such elaborate contributions as the Monitor's Letters, kept the most eminent patriots constantly advised of what was transpiring in the great centres of London; Franklin, whose energies unsubdued by the force of

years, worked in the cause of freedom, with all the elasticity of youth; Christopher Gadsden, whose immovable devotion to liberty, impressed with the hardihood of ancient virtue, rendered him worthy of the illustrious appellation of the Southern Cato; our own Richard Henry Lee and George Mason, whose genius and services with those of kindred spirits of " '76," have been recently portrayed by a distinguished member of the Society, in a discourse so truthful in narrative, so graceful in style, and so glowing with love of the excellence it commemorates, that I know not whether History, Eloquence or Patriotism, are most deeply indebted to its author.\* As we approach the period, when the issues of reason were to be substituted by the issues of blood, fugitive tracts, newspaper essays, popular and legislative resolutions and addresses, so thicken upon us, that we may apply to the colonies, Milton's description of England at the time of the Reformation: "Lords and Commons of England, behold now this vast city, the mansion house of liberty, encompassed and guarded with her protection. The shop of war hath not there more anvils and hammers waking to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed justice in defence of beleaguered truth, than there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, searching, revolving new notions and ideas, wherewith to present as with their homage and fealty the approaching Reformation." Nor was it forgotten by the American sages, that the nearest way to the popular heart lies through the simpler forms of national poetry. Men like Dickinson and Arthur Lee united to compose a patriotic song, and Paine laid his earliest offering on the shrine of Independence, in a patriotic ballad. Every colony was vocal with these "all-cheering hymns of liberty." Even

\* Grigsby's Discourse on the Virginia Convention of 1776.

woman, who by the alacrity with which she anticipated sacrifice, and the cheerfulness with which she endured privation, in the darkest period of the war, “turned forth a silver lining on the sable cloud,” lent the inspiration of her voice to the friends of freedom in this day of preparation; and the name of Warren has descended to us with a double fragrance, hallowed alike by him who poured out his blood, the first libation to American liberty, and by her, who rained sweet influence on the patriot firesides of Plymouth.

During the interval which elapsed between the repeal of the Stamp Act, and the assembling of the first Continental Congress, in 1774, Virginia, in the language of John Dickinson,\* maintained the common cause with such attention, spirit and temper, as gained her the highest degree of reputation amongst the other colonies.” I shall not enter in this place into an examination of the vexed question, whether Virginia or Massachusetts is entitled to the honor of originating the Committees of Correspondence, those winged Mercuries of freedom. I am content to leave it, where it has been placed by Bancroft, and to assign to the last colony, the credit of suggesting the local, and to the first, that more important and efficient agency, the Continental Committees. On no occasion when dismayed or desponding patriotism could be cheered by the voice of sympathy, was Virginia mute. Her people, with a unanimity greater than existed in any other province, were fired with the ardor of their leaders; and neither the sophistry nor the blandishments of Royal governors could suppress the utterance of their spirit. Richard Henry Lee, who during this period stood upon the walls of his native commonwealth, an unresting sentinel of liberty, expressed the general sentiment when he de-

\* *Life of Richard Henry Lee*, vol. I, p. 69.

clared, "I cannot go with those who would derive our security from our submission."\* It is impossible, without an examination of the record to form an adequate conception of the confidence and affection which Virginia had thus inspired throughout the colonies. We learn from the newspapers and correspondence of the times, that her House of Burgesses constituted a standing toast, not only at the public festivals, but in the private circles of patriotism. In 1769, John Dickinson writes from Pennsylvania, that her ardor had warmed even that most temperate province, and as a just mark of respect to her assembly, their resolutions had been adopted verbatim.† Samuel Adams writes in a similar strain of generous eulogy.‡ Quincy when in Charleston, South Carolina, declared in conversation, that "Massachusetts almost revered the Virginia leaders;"§ and in 1773 the Massachusetts assembly, by a vote of 109 to 4, expressed its gratitude to the Burgesses of Virginia, for their uniform vigilance, firmness, and wisdom.|| The Assembly of Rhode Island, distinguished from the first for its ardor and constancy, exclaims in one of its resolutions, in a burst of enthusiasm, "that illustrious and patriotic body, the House of Burgesses of Virginia."¶ Like the tides of that Pontic sea, "which ne'er feel retiring ebb, but keep due on," were the flowing currents of her patriotism.

Whilst the public authority has rescued from oblivion the most insignificant statutes ever enacted in Virginia respecting property, and perpetuated them in the pages of Hening, it has done nothing to preserve in authentic form, those more precious state papers which have been

\* Life of Richard H. Lee, vol. 1, p. 68.

† Ib. p. 76, vol. 1.

‡ Life of Arthur Lee, vol. 2, p. 199. Life of Richard H. Lee, vol. 2, p. 118.

§ Life of Quincy, p. 102.

|| Bancroft's History, vol. 6, p. 460. ¶ Ibid.

spared by time, or that worse vandal, the public enemy. How long, sir, shall we continue our prodigal waste of this sacred patrimony? How long shall we leave uncrowned the images, and unurned the ashes, of our heroic age? Unless we are content, that like the ancient fountain of Dodona, which extinguished a lighted and inflamed an unlighted torch,\* American history should bury in darkness the blazing glory of Virginia patriotism, and kindle into unwonted and undeserved lustre, the obscurity of other regions, public munificence must provide for the preservation of manuscripts and the collection of books in great libraries, where the fame of the state can be committed to the keeping of her own sons. I trust that the signs and portents which now darken the horizon, may admonish us to leave unimproved no element of security, moral or material, and may point with impressive force that important lesson, commended no less by the instincts of the universal heart, than the testimony of all experience, that the most impenetrable ægis with which a people can be covered in the hour of peril, is the shield on which history has emblazoned the virtues and achievements of their forefathers.

It is unnecessary for me to dwell upon the character or proceedings of the Congress of 1774, suggested almost simultaneously by Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Virginia. The whole earth is full of its fame. Whilst the bigoted toryism of Johnson led him to describe its members as "zealots in anarchy," more discriminating and impartial posterity has approved the splendid panegyric, pronounced upon their moderation and wisdom, by Lord Chatham, and which we learn from the diary of Quincy, only echoed the liberal sentiment of England. The most famous of the public documents of this Congress, was

\* See Landor's *Pericles and Aspasia*.

the address to the people of Great Britain by John Jay—an address which it is impossible for an American to read, even at this distance of time, without being thrilled by its noble and fervid patriotism. Next to it in ability and reputation were the Petition to the King by John Dickinson, and the Address to the inhabitants of the British Colonies by Richard Henry Lee. In assigning a subordinate rank to this composition of Mr. Lee, it is but just to add, that the address which was prepared by him at the next Congress, to the people of Great Britain, may challenge comparison, in its warm and pathetic eloquence, glowing sentiments of liberty, and clear and forcible presentation of facts, with any state paper of the revolution. If Virginia cannot claim the distinction of having given to the Congress of "74" its best writer, she carried off from all competition the palm of oratory, in the persons of Lee and Henry. Hers were the "chiefs of eloquence,"

"The kings  
Whose hosts are thoughts, whose realm the human mind ;  
Who, out of words, evoke the soul of things,  
And shape the lofty drama of mankind."

Before the meeting of the Congress of 1775, "the rescript to the American petitions, written in blood" at Concord and Lexington, had extinguished in the bosoms of the more ardent and enlightened patriots almost all hope of a peaceful settlement of the question. But even amongst this number, there were many who distrusted our ability to achieve the position, or maintain the attitude of independent states. Nor had oppression yet consumed in her fiery furnace, all those moral ties which bound the popular heart to the mother country. Congress, therefore, to preserve unbroken the line of opposition, contented itself for a time with defensive preparations, and

continued to hold out the olive branch of conciliation. Besides the leading members of the old Congress, two master spirits made their appearance in the new body; Dr. Franklin, who had just returned from Europe, and Mr. Jefferson. No man in the colonies had a wider reputation for patriotism and ability than Dr. Franklin. The whole country cherished a grateful sense of his services, and a becoming pride in his old-world fame. His examination before the House of Commons, when the repeal of the Stamp Act was under consideration, brought together as large and distinguished an audience, as any orator in England could have assembled. Nor was Jefferson, although a very young man, wholly unknown. He was preceded by a high reputation as a writer and scholar. "Writings of his were handed about," says John Adams, "remarkable for peculiar felicity of expression." Besides the Summary View of the Rights of British America, he was the author of the answer of the Virginia House of Burgesses to Lord North's Conciliatory Bill; of which so competent a critic as Lord Shelburne declared, even after the subject had been discussed in Parliament, and by Burke, "I was never in my life, more pleased with a state paper. It is masterly." It was so highly approved by Congress, that he was selected to prepare the response of that body to the same communication, and the second paper is regarded by his biographer, as an abler and more finished composition than the first. The most important document which emanated from this Congress, was the Declaration setting forth the reasons for taking up arms. The report of the original committee to prepare this paper, being unsatisfactory, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Dickinson were added to it; an association which of itself shows the opinion entertained by Congress of his literary abilities. Mr. Jeffer-

son drew up a second address, which being too bold for his colleague, the latter was requested to alter it to suit his own views. Mr. Dickinson, however, incorporated in his own address, which was adopted by Congress, the eloquent conclusion of Mr. Jefferson's paper; and this portion is usually cited as a favorable specimen of Mr. Dickinson's style. I have recited Mr. Jefferson's share in the composition of these papers, not only as due to Virginia, but to throw light, if possible, upon a question which as we shall subsequently see has been raised, concerning the causes of his selection to write the Declaration of Independence.

Every day was now rendering it apparent, that the Americans could purchase peace only at the price of liberty. The honor of the British nation was supposed to be at stake. In vain did Chatham plead with lofty eloquence, that "rectitude was dignity, oppression only meanness, and justice honor." The ministry, apparently resolved on Roman severity, were discussing expedients of coercion, inconsistent with all usages of Christian warfare. It was no longer possible for the colonies to defer the question of independence. The allegiance of the heart had long been gone. Should they sever the formal link which connected them with Great Britain, and declare themselves independent states? No effort was spared, either in England or America, to quell by intimidation the growing disposition to take this irrevocable step. The uncertainty of securing foreign aid, except on terms too degrading to be endured by freemen, the power and wealth of the mother country, the poverty and destitution of the colonies, all the fearful inequalities of the contest, were painted in the strongest colors.\* The Americans were pointed to those great water lines of river, bay, and

\* See, especially, Sir John Dalrymple's Address to the people of the colonies.

Ocean, which everywhere exposed their country to invasion, to the absence of any walled town which could intercept the incursion of an enemy, to the want of any disciplined regiment to confront that veteran army, which had carried the conquests of England wherever they had carried its colors, or any ship of war to meet that famous navy, which was riding in triumph the seas of every continent, to the cloud of Indian tribes ready to burst in desolating storms of savage warfare upon the unprotected settlements of the frontiers, to the alien race which might emerge from the very bosom of security, and impart a still more sanguinary hue to the tempestuous scenes of civil strife. Notwithstanding circumstances like these, which doubled the native horrors of war, the patriots of America cast no eye of doubt, upon the path of liberty and glory. Indeed, the accomplished Professor of History in the English University of Cambridge, expresses the opinion in his liberal and instructive lectures upon this period; that the most serious charge which can be preferred against them, is that of rashness, in engaging in a contest with means so disproportioned to its exigencies.\* This, Mr. President, was a question which our fathers thought was to be referred to the heart, rather than to the head. It was with no "mistrustful courage, grounded on despair," nor yet in presumptuous reliance on human resources, but with a serene confidence in His protection to whom belong the shields of the earth, and with minds transported above the ordinary level of thought by the inspiration of a great principle, in a noble phrensy of liberty, that Quincy, and Rutledge, and Lee, and Henry, in different forms of language, but all alike "warm from the heart, and faithful to its fires," echoed the glorious senti-

\* See Smythe's Lectures on Modern History.

ment of Bolingbroke, rather to die the last of British freemen, than live the first of British slaves.

Virginia, which had sounded the awakening notes of resistance to the Stamp Act, was the first, when the unvarying consistency of injustice had reached its height of enormity, to move for independence. She did not simply empower her delegates to consent to a declaration by Congress; nor did she form a constitution which admitted the possibility of reconciliation. She left open no road for retreat; her instructions to her representatives in Congress were peremptory; the dissolution of her allegiance was absolute and irrevocable. It was uncertain how many of her sister colonies would support her; and although we are assured by Elbridge Gerry that the determination to push the question of independency was attended with the happiest effect, more than a month's delay occurred after her delegates had submitted a resolution in conformity with their instructions, before Congress, as that stern old Puritan but glorious patriot, Major Hawley, expressed it, "like a Calvinistic Christian, going on from one degree of grace to another, reached perfection."\* A just appreciation of the grave responsibilities of patriotism, assumed by Virginia, obviously demanded that the prominent place should be accorded to her, in the composition of the committee appointed to prepare a declaration of independence. Mr. Jefferson, who in the absence of Mr. Lee, and the disqualification of Mr. Dickinson, was unquestionably the best writer in Congress, receiving the largest number of votes, became the chairman, and upon him was devolved the duty of drawing the instrument, which should announce to the world the birth of the new nation. No higher praise can be bestowed upon the paper which he submitted, than to affirm

\* Life of Elbridge Gerry, Vol. I, p. 185.

that its style is worthy of its sentiments, and that both were equal to the magnitude of the occasion. Mr. Webster has declared, that it would be doing Mr. Jefferson great injustice to say, that he performed his work well; that it would be halting and inadequate praise to say, that he did it admirably well, excellently well; that we should rather say, that all Americans may well rejoice that the work of drawing the title deed of their liberties was committed to him. Modern fanaticism has attempted to press this famous document into its service, for the purpose of sustaining its disorganizing doctrines of social and civil equality. Although we may concede an incautious generality in some of its terms, yet if we look to the scope and context of the instrument, it is upon no fair construction obnoxious to this charge. The purpose of the paragraph to which reference has been made in this connection, was to state the great principles upon which the right of a community to alter or abolish its existing form of government is founded, and to which the colonists appealed in vindication of their conduct. The objects and functions of government, are briefly described to show the origin of the right which was about to be exercised, but with no view of defining the character and extent of those limitations which may be imposed by society, upon what, in the nomenclature of the day, were termed the natural rights of its members. When, therefore, it is said that life, liberty, and happiness are inalienable rights, it can no more be supposed that the author intended to deny to a community, the rightful power of restraining individual liberty to the extent demanded by the great ends of social existence, than that he intended to deprive it of the power of prescribing death or imprisonment as the punishment of crime. The only consistent and rational interpretation of this clause is

that which confines it to an affirmation in substance of the principle, that no convention, prescription, or theory of kingly power can control the right of a people to change or overthrow a government when its forms are abused to their oppression. If those three words of barbarous Latin, in magna charta, "*Nullus liber homo,*" are worth, as Lord Chatham supposed, all the classics, how inexpressible the value of this charter, not of the rights of Englishmen, but of the rights of man. It is well described in the beautiful lines of the poet,

“Truths of power  
In words immortal,—not such words as flash  
From the fierce demagogue’s unthinking rage,  
To madden for a moment and expire,—  
Nor such as the rapt orator imbues  
With warmth of facile sympathy, and moulds  
To mirrors radiant with fair images,  
To grace the noble fervor of an hour;—  
But words which bear the spirit of great deeds,  
Winged for the Future.”

An explanation of this portion of our history has been published by one of its most illustrious actors, which no true son of Virginia can permit to pass unchallenged. In 1822, the elder Adams wrote a letter to Timothy Pickering, in answer to the question, why so young a man as Mr. Jefferson was selected to write the Declaration of Independence, in which he ascribes this and other honors conferred upon Virginia, by the Colonial Congresses, not to a generous recognition of her services, or the merits of her sons, but to a stroke of policy on the part of the Massachusetts delegation, by which they sought to animate and confirm the Middle and Southern States, in the cause of liberty. He describes the journey of himself and colleagues in a single coach, from Boston to Philadelphia, and their being met at Frankfort, by certain active sons of liberty from Philadelphia, who advised them of the

suspicion which was entertained of them personally, and of their views, in the Middle and Southern States, and urged them especially to keep in the back ground the idea of Independence, and instead of aspiring to the lead in decisive measures, to accord it to Virginia. This advice he says, made a deep impression on him and his colleagues, and has given color and complexion to the whole policy of the country from that day to this. "Without it," he adds, "*Mr. Washington* would never have commanded our armies; nor Mr. Jefferson have been the author of the Declaration of Independence; nor Mr. Richard Henry Lee the mover of it, nor Mr. Chase the mover of foreign connections. *If I have ever had cause to repent of any part of this policy, that repentance ever has been and ever will be unavailing.* You inquire why so young a man as Mr. Jefferson was placed at the head of the committee for preparing a Declaration of Independence? I answer; it was the Frankfort advice to place Virginia at the head of everything."\* The insinuations of this letter are as offensive, as are its direct allegations. They amount in substance to a charge, that the patriotic pulse of Massachusetts at one period beat higher than that of Virginia, and that her public spirit and conduct would have entitled her to precedence over Virginia in a distribution of the honors of liberty, and patriotism, and that those distinctions which have covered the sons of Virginia with lustre, were conferred as a means of quickening their devotion to the common cause, and should therefore, before the eye of posterity be shorn of their most splendid beams. In no unkindly spirit to the memory of the elder Adams, who during the long and stormy years of this controversy was a burning and shining light of patriotism, and with every disposition to refer his

\* See Works of John Adams, vol. 2, 512.

lapses of memory to causes not inconsistent with the honor of a revolutionary statesman, I am yet compelled by a just sensibility to the fame of our native commonwealth, to pronounce these imputations to be without any foundation in fact, and at war with the truth of history. Mr. Adams' own writings furnish irresistible presumption, that no conversation of the character he has described, took place at his Frankfort interview. The date of this interview is not given in the letter, but his diary enables us to fix the period with certainty. The delegation which the letter mentions, was that to the Congress of 1774, the journey in the single coach is minutely detailed in the diary, as having occurred in 1774—the actual occurrence of an interview at Frankfort, with the Philadelphia sons of liberty, is noted in 1774—the conversation itself assumes a mutual ignorance of each other on the part of the Massachusetts, and the Middle and Southern delegations, which could not have existed after this period. Having thus ascertained the time, at which Mr. Adams informs us, he was so strongly impressed by the advice to keep back the idea of independence, in consideration of the feeling of the Middle and Southern States, we may compare the statement with the sentiments expressed by him six months afterwards in the articles of Novanglus, published in the Boston papers. "That there are any," says he, "who pant after independence," (meaning by this word a new plan of government over all America, unconnected with the crown of England, or meaning by it an exemption from the power of Parliament to regulate the trade,) is as great a slander upon the province as ever was committed to writing. The patriots of this province desire nothing new; they wish only to keep their old privileges."\* Whilst this indignant dis-

\* See John Adams' Works, vol. 4, p. 131.

claimer of the objects and purposes pointed out in the Frankfort conversation, must convince us that no such friendly councils could ever have been listened to by Mr. Adams, in silent acknowledgment of their propriety, his diary discloses abundant evidence, that if any aspersion had ever been uttered in his presence on the temper of Virginia patriotism, it left no impression of its truth. I will cite only one of several passages of similar purport. After describing a visit to the tavern, where he was introduced to the Virginia members, he says: "these gentlemen from Virginia appear to be the most spirited and consistent of any."\* That Virginia maintained this reputation with Mr. Adams up to the time of declaring independence, we have also proof, under his own hand. In a letter written to Patrick Henry, June 3rd, 1776, he says, "your intimation that the session of your representative body would be long, gave me great pleasure, for we all look up to Virginia for examples."†. Nor are we without the means of knowing what was thought of Virginia at this period, by the ardent sons of liberty in Philadelphia. One of them, he whose answer to a proffered bribe during the war, has rendered immortal the name of Reed, has left this minute of the prevailing impression: "We are so taken up with the Congress that we hardly think of talking of anything else. About fifty have come to town, and more are expected. There are some fine fellows come from Virginia, but they are very high. The Bostonians are mere milk-sops to them. We understand they are the capital men of the colony, both in fortune and understanding."‡

It is impossible to determine at this distance of time, in which of the colonies, the idea of independence first became popular. There is no doubt that New England on

\* Vol. 2, Adams' Works, 362.

† See Adams' Works, vol. 9, p. 387.

‡ Life and Correspondence of President Reed, vol. 1, p. 75.

the one side, and Virginia and the tier of Southern colonies on the other, were ready to take this step, before the Middle colonies. Beyond this, any comparison of public sentiment, North and South, must be vague and conjectural. We know that Massachusetts proclaimed herself a loyal province in 1775, after blood had been shed at Concord and Lexington, that even after the battle of Bunker Hill, she sought to reconcile allegiance with resistance, by describing the struggle as "a ministerial war," that Congress in the Declaration setting forth the causes of taking up arms, disclaimed any other purposes than those of self-defence, and that the Burgesses of Virginia about the same time used language of a similar purport. Whilst more ardent patriots, such as the Adamses in Massachusetts, Lee, Wythe, Henry, and others, in Virginia, anticipated public sentiment on this subject, it would be an impeachment of the manliness and integrity of our fathers, to charge any province with publicly avowing reconciliation as its object, and covertly aiming at independence. The evidence is plenary that in the transition of patriotic sentiment, the people of Virginia were not behind those of any other colony; that in the language of George Mason, "they outran their leaders," and that their Burgesses only declared independence after it was clamorously called for by their constituents. The correspondence of Elbridge Gerry who was a member of the Continental Congress of 1776, furnishes conclusive proof that the lead which was taken by Virginia in this decisive measure did not result from any wish or understanding amongst the Massachusetts delegation, to put her foremost. On the 26th March, 1776, he writes from Philadelphia to the President of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, in these terms: "I sincerely wish you would originate instructions, expressed with decency and firm-

ness, your own style—and give your sentiments as a court in favor of independency. I am certain it would turn many doubtful minds, and produce a reversal of the contrary instructions adopted by some assemblies.”\* Writing still later, May 1st, to the same gentleman, he expresses pleasure that the proposal for instructions was approved, and referring to indications of public sentiment in various directions, adds: “Virginia is always to be depended upon; and so fine a spirit prevails among them, that unless you send some of your cool patriots among them, they may be for declaring independency before Congress is ready.”† The apprehension expressed in this paragraph, was, as we have seen, verified by the event. In a letter of May 28th, he encloses papers containing the Virginia and North Carolina instructions; “their conventions have unanimously declared for independency, and have in this respect exceeded their sister colonies in a most noble and decisive measure. I hope it will be forthwith communicated to your honorable assembly, and hope to see my native colony following this laudable example.”‡ Warren in reply, 12th of June, acknowledges the receipt of this letter, and the enclosed papers. “I have endeavored,” he adds, “to use to the best purpose, the intelligence you gave me, and to animate your native country to follow the laudable example of the South. Their spirit is in your taste.”|| With this testimony, that the policy of moving for independence was urged upon Massachusetts, by members of her own Congressional delegation before that step had been taken in any other colony,—that she was assured Virginia was always to be depended upon—that the resolutions of Virginia were

\* Life of Gerry, vol. 1, p. 174.

† Ib. 178.

‡ Ib. 181.

|| Ib.

forwarded to be used, and were used to animate her own assembly, I trust that History in transferring to her indelible tablets, the features of this memorable transaction will accept its outlines as they were sketched by contemporary artists, and, according to Virginia the credit which belongs to this "noble and decisive measure," exhibit her, the central figure amid a group of sister states, holding high-advanced, the standard of our common Independence.

Mr. President, I am incapable of thinking or uttering aught, derogatory to the well-earned revolutionary fame of Massachusetts. It is, indeed, inseparably associated with that of Virginia. No angry current can ever ruffle those serene depths of history, in which they lie mirrored together, or part that kindred lustre in which their mingling lights of glory have indissolubly blended. I love to turn from Massachusetts, covered as she now is with the reproach of infidelity to our sacrament of Union, and contemplate her, wrapt in those vindictive lightnings which have forever consecrated the patriotism they were unable to consume,—to follow her through those days of gloom and terror, when "mutual league, united counsels, equal hopes and hazard," so bound her to Virginia, that "their double bosoms seemed to wear one heart;" to gaze at her as she stood before the altar of liberty, all radiant with the glow of its triumphs, and plighted to the meeting souls of her sister states the sacred troth of patriotism, to observe with them through all generations, an inviolable covenant of union and freedom. The monuments of her mighty dead burst into speech, and rebuke her degeneracy. The grand lessons of Bunker Hill are but faintly appreciated by him, who stands beneath the shadow of that starry-pointing pyramid which has been raised to fix the gaze of future ages, and

recalls only the memories of those heroes whose blood crimsoned the underlying sods. It is an ever-living witness, in whose voice the accents of departed patriotism yet linger, and which, in tones more eloquent than ever fell from human lips, proclaims the great revolutionary principle that was canonized by the death of these proto-martyrs of liberty, that the only bond of unity which can keep together an empire of freemen, is an equal participation between all its members of rights and privileges.\* Let Massachusetts bury her now cankered heart in the flowing memories of our ancient friendship,—let her cherish a union resting on the generous sentiment that “the strength each gains, is from the embrace it gives,” and as the twin constellations of Castor and Pollux filled the heart of the ancient mariner with hope and joy, whenever they could be seen glittering together in the heavens, so our unbroken fellowship and communion of liberty and glory will cheer humanity through all the nights and tempests of coming time, with a bright and auspicious pledge of the perpetual duration upon earth, of constitutional freedom.

I cannot pursue through its vicissitudes, that great Revolution, which in the dignity of its ends, the purity of its means, and the sublimity of its results, stands alone on the pages of civil history. I cannot even mark the equal devotion with which our native commonwealth followed the fortunes of liberty, whether “its star in bloody portent beamed, or saffron hope.” I cannot pause before those thick-coming memories of heroes and statesmen, which will forever elevate and brighten the crest of freedom. I can but point with the silent homage of reverential finger, to the overshadowing majesty of that great life and character, which like a sacred altar-piece, now hallows

\* See Burke's Speech on Conciliation with America.

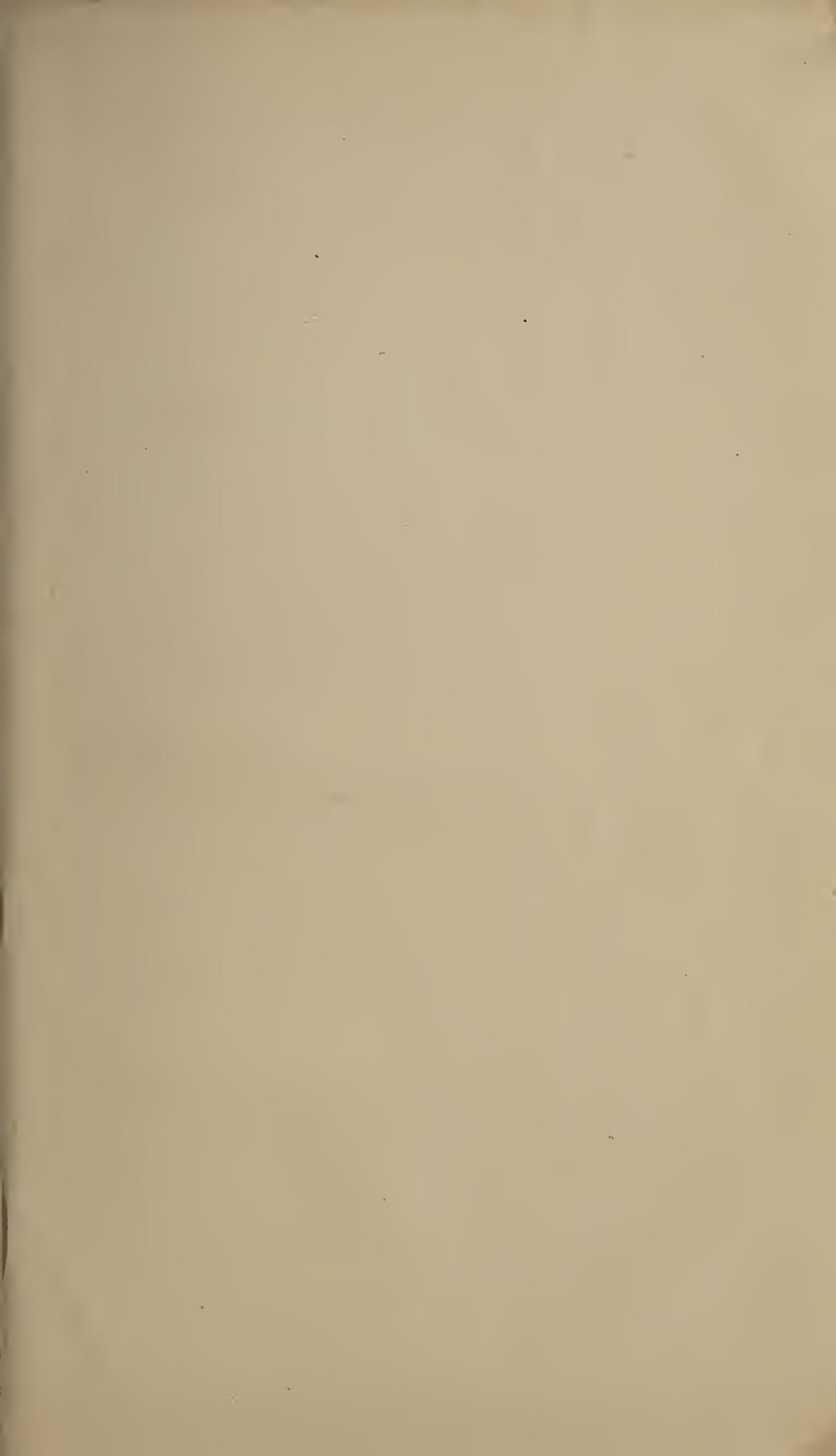
the temples of liberty in all hearts and all lands. Genius, it has been said, ever turns to that quarter of the heavens where fame shines the brightest. Hence it is, that those great achievements in the arts of war and peace, which mark the public annals of our state, yet wake to noblest raptures the heart of our youth. Nothing but a succession of works of the highest merit in every department of letters, can break the power of this mighty spell, so as to let our young men sleep for the trophies of their fathers. Virginia may not be able to claim as her own, profound thinkers, who "Columbus like, descry the golden lands of new philosophies," or poets "who give us nobler loves, and nobler cares," but so long as generous ambition shall kindle before the images of patriot heroes and statesmen, it will be hers to give to history "the ever-living men of memory," whose names "fill all men's mouths, and live in all men's breath."

Less than three centuries ago, Spenser associated Virginia on the first page of the *Fairy Queen*, with the old and famous empires of England, Scotland, and France. In this courtly compliment to Raleigh and Elizabeth, who then lent to the name of the mother of states and statesmen, all its distinction, it never entered the imagination of the poet, that time's succeeding lustres would brighten the obscure colony with glories, which should outlast even "the eternity of their fame." The "moving fires" yet burn in the heavens which lighted the chivalric exploration of her forests and waters: but multiplied children of freedom, rejoicing in its God-given strength, have broken their silence and solitude, with the gladness and beauty of human culture. Mountain and ocean, eternal types and symbols of freedom, yet chant "its chosen music," as when their inspiration breathed into the soul of the listening savage his tame-

less spirit; but grander than this sublime chorus, the ancestral voices of liberty, which breaking from her memorial tombs of patriotism, gather in resounding echoes along all the lines of future history. Fresh and fair the various beauties of her natural landscape, as when it blushed to greet the meeting day; but brighter and fairer still, those exalting and ennobling memories, which from "worlds not quickened by the sun," pour over all her borders, the light that

"Consecrates  
Whate'er it shines upon."







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